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ABSTRACT

Although the organizational structure and activities of youth gangs have been studied, little research has focused on law enforcement strategies to handle youth gang behavior. To examine how police handle youth gangs and law violation and to identify effective prevention and control strategies, the police gang control and youth personnel departments in 60 randomly selected cities were surveyed. An analysis of the results showed that 45% of the cities surveyed reported the presence of youth gangs and associated problems, while only 15 police departments reported having specialized youth gang units. Police gang control functions encompassed four classes of activities: information processing, prevention, enforcement, and follow-up investigations. Gang control programs featured traditional strategies designed to prevent crime and apprehend offenders. Although a few large police departments appeared to have made large investments in prevention programs, the majority of agencies had made modest investments. Finally, many programs had management problems, due to the lack of written policies, personnel training, and evaluation methods. A comprehensive community gang control program focusing on management, program effectiveness, and delivery systems is recommended. (The appendices include a reference list, a list of selected readings, a description of study methodology including the survey used, and task force recommendations.) (BL)

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Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers

Police Handling of Youth Gangs

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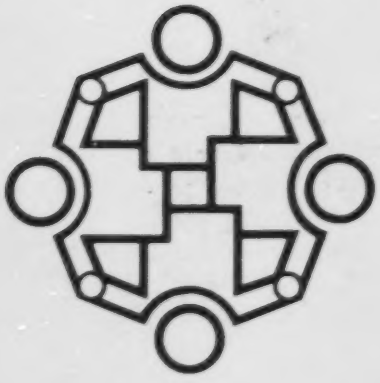

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Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers

Police Handling of Youth Gangs

by
Jerome A. Needle
Wm Vaughan Stapleton

September 1983

CB 017636

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FOREWORD

The National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (NIJJDP) of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) established an Assessment Center Program in 1976 to partially fulfill the mandate of the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. NIJJDP currently maintains two Assessment Centers: the National Center for the Assessment of Delinquent Behavior and Its Prevention located at the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington; and the Center for the Assessment of the Juvenile Justice System, which is administered at the American Justice Institute in Sacramento, California. The purpose of the Assessment Center is to collect, synthesize, and disseminate knowledge and information on all aspects of juvenile delinquency.

At the American Justice Institute, the Center for the Assessment of the Juvenile Justice System continually reviews areas of topical interest and importance to meet the information needs of practitioners and policymakers concerning contemporary juvenile justice issues. Methodology includes: search of general and fugitive literature from national, State, and local sources; surveys; secondary statistical analysis; and use of consultants with specialized expertise.

These assessments are not designed to be complete statements in a particular area; instead, they are intended to reflect the state-of-knowledge at a particular time, including gaps in available information or understanding. Our assessments, we believe, will result in a better understanding of the juvenile justice system, both in theory and practice.

This particular assessment, "Police Handling of Youth Gangs," discusses police response to youth gang activity in the United States. Its purpose is to provide the reader with an understanding of contemporary youth gang problems, and how police departments respond to them. In particular, the report examines a representative sample of 60 U.S. cities and their law enforcement response strategies to youth gang behavior. The report recommends that a comprehensive community gang control program is the preferred method in dealing with youth gang problems.

James C. Howell, Ph.D.
Acting Director
National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This volume has been prepared by Jerome A. Needle, Principal Author. Wm Vaughan Stapleton was responsible for the study's design and methodology, initial data analysis, and Chapter 1. Jerome Needle was responsible for the analysis and writing of the Preface, Executive Summary, Introduction, Chapters 2-4, and Appendix E (Task Force Recommendations).

Assistance was provided by Philip Pittman, Research Assistant, in the sampling design, the formatting of the questionnaires, and automatic data processing. Philip Pittman and Claudia Kelly, Assistant Behavioral Scientist, were responsible for writing the methodology appendix. Jill Padawer, Research Assistant, and Claudia Kelly were responsible for the original bibliographic citation checks and the initial editing of this manuscript. Gayle Olson-Raymer, Assistant Criminal Justice Specialist, assisted with final contextual editing.

Administrative, style, and final editing was done by Ann Johnson, Editor. C. Lee Athey, Research Assistant, was responsible for final bibliographic citation checks. Andrea Marrs, Project Secretary, was responsible for the production of the submission draft.

Additionally, the authors wish to note that this report's preparation was made possible by the cooperation of the police departments of the following cities:

Akron, Ohio; Amherst, New York; Anchorage, Alaska; Baltimore, Maryland; Berkeley, California; Birmingham, Alabama; Chicago, Illinois; Columbus, Ohio; Dallas, Texas; Davenport, Iowa; Dayton, Ohio; Denver, Colorado; Des Moines, Iowa; Detroit, Michigan; District of Columbia; Elizabeth, New Jersey; Eugene, Oregon; Fort Lauderdale, Florida; Fort Worth, Texas; Gary, Indiana; Greensboro, North Carolina; Hayward, California; Houston, Texas; Huntsville, Alabama; Jackson, Mississippi; Jersey City, New Jersey; Lakewood, Colorado; Las Vegas, Nevada; Little Rock, Arkansas; Los Angeles, California; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Memphis, Tennessee; Miami, Florida; Nashville, Tennessee; New Orleans, Louisiana; Newark, New Jersey; New Haven, Connecticut; New York, New York; Pasadena, California; Peoria, Illinois; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Phoenix, Arizona; Portsmouth, Virginia; Riverside, California; Rochester, New York; Salt Lake City, Utah; San Antonio, Texas; San Bernardino, California; San Diego, California; San Francisco, California; South Bend, Indiana; Springfield, Illinois; St. Louis, Missouri; St. Petersburg, Florida; St. Paul, Minnesota; Toledo, Ohio; Tucson, Arizona; Waco, Texas; Wichita, Kansas; Wichita Falls, Texas.

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Finally, the Center staff wishes to thank Diane Liburd, Program Monitor, who contributed contextual and stylistic revision suggestions.

PREFACE

This assessment's objectives were (1) to describe how police departments handle youth gangs and youth gang problems within their communities, and (2) to identify promising strategies for coping with those problems. Neither police handling of youth gangs nor promising strategies had been explored satisfactorily before this investigation. Indeed, it would be more accurate to say the subjects had been essentially ignored.

Given several significant study constraints, namely a budget that limited basic data gathering to telephone interviews, and the inability of practitioners to supply "hard" data and information about gangs and handling of them, the first objective was achieved successfully. Much of the information presented herein is new or previously undocumented, particularly that pertaining to organizational forms for coping with gangs, diffusion of gang programming within police agencies, resource commitment levels, and the comprehensive array and nature of response strategies.

Attempts to achieve the second objective were as unsuccessful as attempts to achieve the first were successful. Though we were able to identify strategies, including ones practitioners "feel" are promising or effective, we were unable to produce suggestive evidence of the true worth of strategies, let alone conclusive evidence. Neither the gang control programming police administer nor the individual strategies employed have been adequately evaluated methodologically. Within individual police departments, and more so within their parent governments, this represents both a management and public policy failure. If this report makes any contribution, it should be to alert police and their superiors in local government to correct this condition. Indeed, it would have served better had we been able to achieve the second objective rather than the first.

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Consultant
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Several decades of sociological research on the youth gang phenomenon have concentrated, with few exceptions, on description and analysis of gang organizational structure and type of activity. Several causal theories of gang-related criminal behavior have been offered that have found their way into the textbooks and, in some instances, have been the theoretical basis for reform programs.

Little is known, however, about law enforcement response strategies to youth gang behavior, although it has been known for some time that youths do not typically act alone in their law-violating activities. Since youth gangs have been the focus of recently revived interest, the issue of appropriate law enforcement response has also received increasing attention.

The present report is a partial response to this growing concern. It is based upon a study designed to: (1) examine how police handle youth gangs and youth gang members who violate the law, and (2) identify effective strategies for preventing and controlling problems caused by youth gangs.

This report's objectives are investigation of police department resource mobilization for combatting youth gang crime, and utilization of a brief sample survey of police departments to create an empirical typology of response strategies. This study reveals 45 percent of the survey cities sampled (27 of 60 cities) reported the presence of youth gangs and problems associated with their presence. Of the reporting police departments, 15 (55.6 percent) have specialized youth gang details or gang units.

The survey confirms the U.S. Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime's recent findings that gangs and law-violating youth groups are clearly a growing problem for this Nation's cities and their law enforcement agencies (U.S. Department of Justice, Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime, 1981). Gangs are not exclusive to large urban areas. Many intermediate and small city police departments recognize gang activity as a contributing factor to escalating crime rates. We can neither confirm nor deny the Attorney General's conclusions concerning the problem's overall seriousness or magnitude. This assessment is a political art rather than an exact science.

The degree to which a police department responds organizationally to juvenile gang activity depends upon a number of factors. Although youth gang and problem youth group members commit a substantial number of crimes, this number is proportionately less, according to our analysis, than other studies have led policymakers and the general public to believe.

Youth gangs present a dilemma for the police administrator with limited financial resources. Modern police department management of several hundred to, in some cases, many thousands of individuals, requires administrative judgment on resource and manpower allocations to critical areas. The organization of a specialized youth gang response, whether it be one person or a full gang unit, is not a casual

exercise. In its most extreme form, there is an extensive division of labor and expense entailed in the development of gang intelligence units and gang enforcement activities.

Therefore, it is not surprising that police departments having an organized gang unit or detail also perceived the gang problem to be a major one, a perception based upon the statistical evidence of gang memberships, number of active gangs, and reported gang activity. Many police departments now recognizing a youth gang problem have not developed a fully articulated organizational response.

Three specialized forms characterize the 27 police departments reporting youth gang or youth group problems. In ascending order of specialization they are:

The Youth Service Program: Traditional police unit personnel, most commonly the youth section or bureau, are assigned gang control responsibility. Personnel are not assigned exclusively nor principally to gang control work.

The Gang Detail: One or more officers of a traditional police unit, most commonly youth or detective units, are assigned responsibility for the control of gang problems. Officers are typically assigned exclusively to gang control work.

The Gang Unit: A police unit is established solely to deal with gang problems. The gang unit typically encompasses a comprehensive intelligence function, and personnel are assigned exclusively to gang control work.

The report's examination of the current police response to problems caused by youth gang members and problem youth groups has found that:

1. The gang control function encompasses four classes of activities in most police departments: information processing, or intelligence; prevention; enforcement; and follow-up investigation. In every police agency surveyed this function is diffused among several units despite existence of specialized units in many departments, namely gang units and gang details. It was assumed at the outset of the survey (perhaps falsely) that in departments where gang units existed, the gang control function was fully centralized in terms of both responsibility and operations.

2. Gang control programs feature strategy combinations designed (or selected) for prevention of crime and antisocial behavior by youth gang members and problem youth groups, and apprehension of those members who commit or are alleged to have committed crimes. Many police department programs have an extra-departmental dimension to them. Many departments engage in cooperative endeavors with other police agencies, other agencies of State and local government, and community agencies. The most prominent feature of current gang control programming is its similarity to police programming. Traditional crime prevention and control approaches and practices are more evident than unique and innovative programs. The importance of this must be judged by current program effectiveness, a judgment which unfortunately must be deferred until police agencies and their parent governments undertake effectiveness measurement, something they do not currently do.

3. The amount of resources agencies are investing in gang crime prevention and control cannot be measured accurately at this time. The diffusion of the gang control function and the limited sophistication of police cost accounting systems makes any attempt to fashion an accurate assessment highly impractical. Crude survey indicators suggest several larger police departments, particularly those with specialized gang units, have made sizeable investments in gang prevention and control. Investments in most of the other agencies surveyed seem modest.

4. Many gang programs have management problems. The overwhelming majority of agencies operate without benefit of written policies and procedures and with personnel who have received no formal, professionally administered training. The most serious flaw in the management of present programs is the failure to evaluate the effectiveness of gang control programs.

Based mainly on program and management findings, we may hypothesize that contemporary gang prevention and control practices are in an early developmental stage--not primitive, but certainly not approaching maturity. The state-of-the-art barely approaches that found in newer police program areas, such as community crime prevention or riot control, let alone the more fundamental areas such as patrol and investigations. Basic collective technology--proven practices, standard training curriculum, job specifications, evaluations, evaluation methodologies, and even a body of literature has not yet emerged in this area of police concern. Departments create their own separate responses, experimenting much of the time. This is understandable considering that gang problems, serious as they may be in some cities, do not assume the significance of many other police management problems. Gang problems are not high priority issues in many police departments. Most police agencies hope to contain gang problems until they begin to disappear.

This report concludes by recommending a number of ways in which police, the governments they serve, and the communities in which they function might improve their responses to youth gangs and youth gang problems. Management of police gang control programs, determination of program effectiveness, and current gang control delivery systems are three areas where improvements are possible.

A Comprehensive Community Gang Control Program is recommended. Its major features are:

- Determine the extent of a community's gang problem: determine how many gangs there are, how many members are in the gangs, and the criminal history of gangs and gang members.

- Analyze the gang population: describe the economic, social, health, educational, ethnic, sex, and age characteristics of members.

- Establish objectives: define what the community as a whole and each agency should strive to accomplish with respect to the behavior of gangs and gang members.

- Formulate programmatic responses: identify strategies that participating agencies should administer both individually and cooperatively to achieve the objectives set forth.

- Mobilize the necessary resources to employ the strategies selected: assemble, from existing governmental agencies, the community, and the private sector, resources and services required to administer the strategies selected.

- Evaluate program results: gather, process, and interpret the data required to determine whether program strategies are producing desired program results.

- Training program participants: develop and administer training programs for personnel of all participating agencies; programs should cover the nature of Comprehensive Community Gang Control Programs, the roles of participants in them, and substantive matters pertaining to prevention and control of gang crime.

The very act of establishing a Comprehensive Community Gang Control Program will be a major step toward unifying the many agencies currently administering gang programming independently. Establishing objectives, identifying strategies, coordinating current programs, and mobilizing community resources will further eliminate the fragmentation that currently exists. Accountability will be clarified with the setting of specific goals, the formulation of programs, and the implementation of evaluation procedures.

INTRODUCTION

YOUTH GANGS have been the focus of recently revived interest by persons seeking solutions for combatting escalating U.S. crime rates. The juvenile gang's role was singled out by the U.S. Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime. (For abbreviated version, see Appendix E, p. 79.) The Task Force Report asserted:

> The most prevalent context of serious and violent juvenile criminality is what has been described as "law-violating youth groups." It has been estimated these disruptive youth groups involve perhaps up to 20 percent of eligible boys in cities of over 10,000 population and that about 71 percent of all serious crimes by youths are the product of law-violating groups. (U.S. Department of Justice, Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime, 1981:81.)

The Task Force Report and other documents generated anxiety among the general public and the Nation's law enforcement agencies. The present report is a partial response to this growing concern. It is the final product of a study designed to (1) examine police handling of youth gangs and youth gang members who violate the law, and (2) identify effective strategies for prevention and control of problems caused by youth gangs. The information presented herein concerning the prevalence of youth gangs, the nature and amount of crime gangs commit, police strategies for coping with the problem, and alternatives for more successful coping strategies should be of interest and value to a broad range of organizations and individuals; specifically, persons and groups that are responsible for and can influence youth gang behavior including police, prosecutors, courts, social service agencies, educators, public and private helping agencies, and the general public.

THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF DATA

Most information required for this study's purpose was assembled through interview. Seventy-eight cities were randomly selected using population size and geographic region as major criteria for sampling. Police department gang control and youth personnel in 60 cities agreed to participate in this study. Eighteen cities do not respond. This lack of response, when viewed retrospectively in the context of observations and findings on how police handle youth gangs, seems to have little significance on the report's findings. Stated alternatively, similarities in the way police organize to respond to gang problems, activities carried out in response to these problems, and other characteristics of police gang control programming are more common than differences. It is unlikely that a survey of the 18 departments would yield any information that would profoundly influence or even modify the findings derived from surveying the other 60 departments.

Of the 60 cities' police departments participating in this study, 16 are in the Western United States, 15 in the North Central region, 10 in the North East, and 19 in the South. Thirty-one had populations between 100,000 and 249,999; 13 between 250,000 and 499,999; 10 between 500,000 and 999,999; and six had over 1,000,000.

Table 1 (p. 6) categorizes the 60 cities by population, while Table 3 (p. 11) categorizes the cities by region.

Police departments were provided with advance interview survey packets, increasing the respondent's interview preparedness. Interviews were approximately one-half hour in length and employed a 22-item guide for elicitation of information. The guide can be found in Appendix D, Methodology, which describes this report's research methodology in greater detail.

The following pre-selected topics were covered: youth gang and problem youth group definitions; characteristics of youth gangs and youth gang members; youth gang crime and other youth gang problems; police organization for youth gang control; police resource commitment to youth gang control; training; youth gang programs and services; and program effectiveness.

Information was extracted from the literature for study purposes. Approximately 73 books, articles, and commission reports were reviewed. Several items of substantial value were found, particularly two works by Miller (1975, 1981), and the Report of the Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, State of California (1981). (For more information, see Appendix E, Task Force Recommendations.) The literature review of law enforcement response strategies was unproductive. The greatest attention was given to the gang as a sociological phenomenon. Researchers theorized extensively about gang etiology. Treatment of gangs and gang members who become delinquents received almost equal attention.

The demographic literature research of the youth gang problem received little attention. Harvard University Professor Walter B. Miller, currently the most prominent investigator of the gang phenomenon, conducted the most recent study of the demographics of the youth gang problem. How police currently identify gangs and gang members, regard gangs and gang members philosophically, cope with antisocial behavior, whether they do so effectively, what might be done to cope more effectively, and scores of related questions have not been subjected to formal inquiry. Academic level sociologists and juvenile justice specialists and practicing social workers are responsible for what little research has been done. Police researchers have virtually ignored the subject. This is surprising considering the historical persistence of youth gangs and law enforcement's central role in juvenile justice matters.

EXPLORATORY NATURE OF THE WORK

Although this report provides a substantial amount of potentially useful information, none of it is definitive. By design and necessity, our work has been exploratory. This has been dictated by three conditions. First, the body of gang literature is inadequate for researching the police role vis-a-vis youth gangs; therefore, we were forced to conduct this assessment without the collective information, insight, wisdom, and experience so valuable to the research enterprise. Second, the project budget and available time for completion were restricted. Because of this, the number of subjects that could be studied, the depth in which they could be studied, and the sophistication of the methodological techniques that could be employed were limited. Finally, police agency ability to provide information and data on youth gang activity and departmental responses to and experience with youth gangs is limited. Police are far less equipped to productively participate in youth gang research than in more traditional research dealing with prominent concerns and

functions such as violent crime by adults, patrol, traffic, enforcement, or vehicles and weapons. The limited availability of systematic police data resulted in descriptive and analytical constraints.

STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE REPORT

The report is divided into four chapters. Chapter 1, The Problem, defines the term "youth gang" and examines the geographical distribution, extent, and seriousness of youth gang crime. Chapter 2, The Current Police Response, focuses on police department treatment of youth gang problems. The chapter addresses the police organizational response to youth gang problems, gang control program size, prevention and control programmatic strategies to gang problems, their effectiveness, and the quality of program management. Gang control policy information, procedure, and training is also examined. Interactions among gang control units and other police agency units, and among police agencies and other government and community institutions concerned about gangs are explored. Chapter 3, The Future Police Response, presents ideas and recommendations police agencies and communities may find valuable for improving ongoing program effectiveness, or for developing effective programs where none currently exist. Suggested police actions to strengthen current program organization and management, and a strategy for "breaking gangs" recommended by a gang control specialist, are among the recommendations and ideas presented in this chapter. Finally, Chapter 4, Improving the Police Gang Control Delivery System, describes and argues for a response to gang problems that differs dramatically from the current one--a structural response that seeks to heighten the partnership of police and the criminal justice community in addressing gang problems.

Chapter 1

DEFINING THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

Despite a widely publicized notion that youth gangs are responsible for a majority of violent and serious youth crimes, the assumption that they are a major law enforcement problem remains disputable. This chapter examines the results of a survey of 60 police jurisdictions selected as representative of cities in the continental United States with populations in excess of 100,000. (See Table 1, p. 6.) Gang prevalence, regional distribution, and relationship to city size are examined. The youth gang problem's "seriousness" is discussed as a function of database comparisons and examined as a source of police organizational responses to problems caused by law-violating behaviors.

HISTORICAL ATTEMPTS TO DEFINE GANGS

It is significant in the historical study of youth gangs that no precise definition has been formulated meeting universal agreement. Notwithstanding a respectable historical usage of the term "gang as a generally derogatory word" (Geis, 1965:1), translation into more concrete scientific language has been difficult. Frederick Thrasher's (1927, 1963) analysis of over 1,300 juvenile gangs in Chicago is an early, classic sociological study of the problem. Thrasher did not define gangs per se; instead, he analyzed youth group activities of groups as diverse as fraternities and play groups to the prototypical street corner gang. Thrasher's lack of a core definition does not minimize the importance of his contribution to the understanding of youth gangs. His was the first study to emphasize the organized and purposeful nature of youth group activity. Most significant is his insight that youths tend to act in concert and that to single out the individual youth from the context of his peer associations is to miss much of the social causation of juvenile deviance.

In William Whyte's Street Corner Society (1943), "street corner gang" characteristics were defined as a sense of territoriality, informal and repetitive social interaction, a relatively stable group membership, and a status hierarchy (Whyte, 1943:255ff). Unlawful behavior, although attributable to gangs, was not central to the concept of the street corner society. If the street "gang" participated in criminal activity, it was but one of the options open to group members, and participation was more a result of the social milieu than a direct consequence of gang organization. Whyte, as Thrasher before him, emphasized that it was by means of the group that an individual member maintained identity and social status, and that individual acts, many of them law-violating, often validated a member's status in the gang.

In sharp contrast to both Thrasher and Whyte, Yablonski's study of The Violent Gang (1963) equates structure with process. That is, Yablonski's definition of a "gang" presupposes violence in some form as the core problem. Contemporary theorists have

incorporated the commission of violent behavior into working definitions of gangs, although not to the same degrees, but fail to agree on any useful common denominator (e.g., Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Spergle, 1966).

Table 1

POLICE DEPARTMENTS RESPONDING TO SURVEY BY POPULATION CATEGORY

100,000-249,999	Akron, Ohio	Gary, Ind.	Peoria, Ill.
	Amherst, N.Y.	Greensboro, N.C.	Portsmouth, Va.
	Anchorage, Alaska	Hayward, Calif.	Riverside, Calif.
	Berkeley, Calif.	Huntsville, Ala.	Salt Lake City, Utah
	Columbus, Ohio	Jackson, Miss.	San Bernardino, Calif.
	Davenport, Iowa	Jersey City, N.J.	South Bend, Ind.
	Dayton, Ohio	Lakewood, Colo.	Springfield, Ill.
	Des Moines, Iowa	Little Rock, Ark.	St. Petersburg, Fla.
	Elizabeth, N.J.	New Haven, Conn.	Waco, Tex.
	Eugene, Oreg.	Pasadena, Calif.	Wichita Falls, Tex.
	Fort Lauderdale, Fla.		
250,000-499,999	Birmingham, Ala.	Minneapolis, Minn.	St. Paul, Minn.
	Denver, Colo.	Nashville, Tenn.	Toledo, Ohio
	Fort Worth, Tex.	Newark, N.J.	Tucson, Ariz.
	Las Vegas, Nev.	Rochester, N.Y.	Wichita, Kansas
	Miami, Fla.		
500,000-999,999	Baltimore, Md.	Phoenix, Ariz.	San Francisco, Calif.
	Dallas, Tex.	San Antonio, Tex.	St. Louis, Mo.
	Memphis, Tenn.	San Diego, Calif.	Washington, D.C.
	New Orleans, La.		
1,000,000+	Chicago, Ill.	Houston, Tex.	New York, N.Y.
	Detroit, Mich.	Los Angeles, Calif.	Philadelphia, Pa.

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

The most comprehensive definition fashioned to date is derived from the research reported in a monograph prepared for the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (Walter Miller, Violence by Youth Gangs and Youth Groups as a Crime Problem in Major American Cities, 1975). Using multiple informants in six "gang-problem cities," Miller formulated a five-part definition. While noting variance among respondents, the criteria most frequently cited as essential gang features were, in rank order: violent or criminal behavior as a major activity of group members; group organization, with functional role division and chain-of-command; identifiable leadership; continuing and recurring interaction among group members; and identification with, and/or claims of control over, identifiable community territory (Miller, 1975:8). By 1980, however, Miller was disenchanted enough with the continuing problems of classification to state:

> One consequence of the dearth of systematic attention to collective youth crime is that no satisfactory unit of analysis has ever been developed for this area. During the past fifty years, the major concept used to guide the examination of this phenomenon has been that of "gang." This concept has become increasingly unsatisfactory as the years have passed. At no time has there been anything close to consensus as to what a gang might be--by scholars, by criminal justice workers, by the general public. (Miller, 1980:115.)

Problems in defining a "unit" of analysis for gang studies were handled differently by Malcolm Klein in his work for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence:

> [f]or the purposes of this report, we shall use the term 'gang' to refer to any denotable adolescent group of youngsters who (a) are generally perceived as a distinct aggregation by others in their neighborhood, (b) recognize themselves as a denotable group (almost invariably with a group name), and (c) have been involved in a sufficient number of delinquent incidents to call forth a consistent negative response from neighborhood residents and/or enforcement agencies. This is not meant as a definitive denotation of the label, gang. It is merely designed to say that a group is a gang when it is reacted to as a distinctly anti-social group of genuine concern and accepts itself as a group apart. This is nothing more than a confirmation of contemporary lay usage of the term. (Klein, 1969:1428.)

Whatever its shortcomings as scientific terminology, the "contemporary usage" concept is particularly useful in denoting the differences between street gangs and "assemblies" of juveniles engaged in disruptive or unlawful behavior (e.g., the after-the-football game riot between two high schools). This definition also readily distinguishes the "illegitimacy" of the youth gang as opposed to other juvenile or youth groups accorded legitimacy by the community (e.g., the Police Athletic Club and Boy Scouts). As will be seen, Klein's approach is in agreement with those definitions offered by many of the police department spokespersons responding to the inquiry of whether or not they recognized a youth gang or youth group problem in their jurisdictions.

DEFINITION OF GANGS

In light of the definitional problems concerning gangs, this survey started with two assumptions. First, Klein was essentially correct in assuming there is a "contemporary usage" to draw upon; second, that police departments probably employ a similar definition. The present survey's principal methodology allowed police departments to define "youth gangs" in their own terms. Additionally, the survey was designed to permit discretion in the giving of information, thus allowing police departments to define "youth gangs" in their own terms. Equal license was taken in coding the open-ended responses written down as given in telephone interviews.

Of the 60 respondents, 27 departments reported youth gang presence. In turn, these 27 respondents were asked how gangs are defined by their departments. The responses were then examined and their definitional elements arrayed alongside Miller's five components of gang structure and activity--violent or criminal behavior, group organization, identifiable leadership, continuing interaction among members, and territoriality (Miller, 1975:8). The exercise validated this survey's assumption that many police departments define youth gangs according to Miller's criteria. In Table 2 (p. 9), the schematic representation of police definitions of gangs is portrayed in tabular form. An additional criterion--dress or body decoration and/or use of graffiti--has been identified. This criterion may be an extended form of group identification, but was mentioned by the respondents frequently enough to warrant independent status.

Over three-fourths of the responding police departments (77.8 percent) mentioned violent behavior as a distinguishing criterion of youth gangs, and 14 of the 27 (51.9 percent) mentioned dress, body decoration, or use of identifying graffiti. Twelve departments (44.4 percent) recognized group organization, and 11 (40.7 percent) mentioned recurrent interaction as youth gang criteria. Less frequently mentioned were leadership (eight departments, 29.6 percent) and territory (nine departments, 33.3 percent).

Four of the 27 police departments identified youth gangs as having all six major criteria, and 12 reported three or more of the definitional characteristics. Only one department reported insufficient experience with their youth gang problems to form a concrete definition.

This report's primary emphasis is on police response to youth gangs. We are sympathetic to concerns for conceptual clarity, especially those expressed by Miller in his recent rejection of the "gang" concept for the more all-inclusive use of the concept "law-violating youth group." (Miller, 1981.) Therefore, we attempted to obtain distinguishing definitions from the responding police department spokespersons in our survey. This was difficult since most police departments could not set apart the concept of "groups" from "gangs" in an acceptably precise fashion. Six cities in our survey, not presently having problems with youth gangs, acknowledged problems with youth groups. Due to insufficient data from these cities regarding the nature and extent of youth group law-violating behavior, they have been excluded from the subsequent analysis of police response strategies.

DEFINITION OF YOUTH

"Youth," as used in this report, includes, but is not limited to, juveniles 18 years-of-age and younger. The inclusion of older individuals, and consequently the use of the word "youth" as opposed to "juvenile," is predicated on several premises.

Table 2

POLICE PERCEPTIONS OF IDENTIFYING CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUTH GANGS IN 27 CITIES

CITY	VIOLENT BEHAVIOR	GROUP ORGANIZATION	LEADERSHIP	RECURRENT INTERACTION	TERRITORY	DRESS*
Berkeley		X			X	
Jackson	X					
Portsmouth	X					
Salt Lake City		NO DATA				
San Antonio	X					
Phoenix	X	X				
San Bernardino					X	
Tucson	X					
Chicago	X			X		
Davenport		X				X
Denver	X			X		
Las Vegas	X			X		
Miami	X					X
New Haven		X				X
Newark	X					X
Birmingham	X				X	X
New York		X	X	X		
Pasadena	X			X		X
San Francisco	X	X	X			
Detroit	X			X	X	X
Peoria	X	X	X			X
Hayward	X	X		X	X	X
Los Angeles	X	X	X		X	X
Lakewood	X	X	X	X	X	X
Philadelphia	X	X	X	X	X	X
Riverside	X	X	X	X	X	X
San Diego	X	X	X	X	X	X

*Includes body decoration, identifying graffiti.

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

First, larger gangs in many cities are composed of age-differentiated segments, each bearing a name denoting its status (e.g., "Pee-Wees," "Juniors," "Old Heads") (Miller, 1975:21). Some members of these gangs, especially "Old Heads," are older than 18. Second, the term "youth" controls for respondents' inability to adequately specify the ages of gang members. Several respondents reported intergenerational gang membership (particularly a problem in California) with parents and their children affiliating with a gang in different degrees of attachment. Lower age limits of eight to 10 years were not uncommon, but upper age limits were difficult to establish. Miller (1975:22) estimates an age range of 10 to 22. Nothing discovered during this survey questions the general reasonableness of this estimate.

All police departments, when considering the question of gang definition, differentiated between youth or juvenile "gangs" and the more adult motorcycle gang. This gang type is more easily distinguished as an "adult" phenomenon (with younger individuals attached), and it was not considered in this report.

PREVALENCE OF GANGS

The proportions of American cities presently reporting youth gang problems are displayed, by region and city size, in Tables 3 (p. 11) and 4 (p. 12). In all, 27 of the 60 cities surveyed--almost half--report problems. Western cities* (Table 3), while accounting for 26.7 percent (16 of 60) of the sample, represent 51.9 percent (14 of 27) of the cities reporting youth gangs. Column differences (between regions) are more striking: 87.5 percent (14 of 16) of the Western cities sampled acknowledged youth gang problems, compared to 40 percent (four of 10) of the Eastern cities.** Traditional youth gang strongholds, large Eastern and North Central U.S. cities,*** apparently have been replaced by emerging youth gang activity in Western cities.

Youth gang literature suggests the problem is urban and confined to large cities. The one exception in the literature is Miller's recent report that gangs are now an ubiquitous phenomena, found in both large and small U.S. cities (Miller, 1981b). Our present data confirm the high association of youth gangs with major population centers, and draw attention to their growing prevalence in smaller communities. Table 4 reveals five of six population centers of one million or more persons (83.3 percent) host youth gangs. This was expected. Less expected, however, was that respondents in six of 12 cities (50 percent) of populations 250,000 to 499,999 would report youth gangs. In the small city category of 100,000 to 249,999 persons, 38.7 percent (12 of 31 cities) report the presence of youth gangs as a law enforcement problem.

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* The 14 Western cities of the 27 departments reporting youth gang problems are Berkeley, Salt Lake City, Phoenix, San Bernardino, Tucson, Las Vegas, Denver, Pasadena, San Francisco, Hayward, Los Angeles, Lakewood, Riverside, and San Diego.

** The four Eastern cities of the 27 departments reporting youth gang problems are New Haven, Newark, New York, and Philadelphia.

***The four North Central cities of the 27 departments reporting youth gang problems are Chicago, Davenport, Detroit, and Peoria.

Table 3

PRESENCE OF GANGS OR PROBLEM YOUTH GROUPS BY REGION

POLICE RESPONSE	WEST[1]		NORTH CENTRAL[2]		NORTH EAST[3]		SOUTH[4]		TOTAL	
	%*	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Reported presence of youth gangs at the time of the survey	87.5	(14)	26.7	(4)	40.0	(4)	26.3	(5)	45.0	(27)
Reported presence of problem youth groups in cities reporting no gang problem	6.3	(1)	20.0	(3)	10.0	(1)	5.3	(1)	10.0	(6)
No present problem	6.3	(1)	53.3	(8)	50.0	(5)	68.4	(13)	45.0	(27)
TOTAL (of cities sampled)	26.7	(16)	25.0	(15)	16.6	(10)	31.7	(19)	100.0	(60)

*Column percents are of cities in that region.

[1]Western cities include: Berkeley, Salt Lake City, Phoenix, San Bernardino, Tucson, Denver, Las Vegas, Pasadena, San Francisco, Hayward, Los Angeles, Lakewood, Riverside, San Diego.

[2]North Central cities include: Chicago, Davenport, Detroit, Peoria.

[3]North East cities include: New Haven, Newark, New York, Philadelphia.

[4]South cities include: Portsmouth, San Antonio, Miami, Birmingham, Jackson.

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

Table 4

PRESENCE OF GANGS OR PROBLEM YOUTH GROUPS BY CITY SIZE

POLICE RESPONSE	CITY SIZE (in 1,000's)								TOTALS	
	100-249		250-499		500-999		1,000+			
	%*	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Reported presence of youth gangs at the time of the survey	38.7	(12)	50.0	(6)	36.4	(4)	83.3	(5)	45.0	(27)
Reported presence of problem youth groups in cities reporting no gang problem	16.1	(5)	8.3	(1)		0		0	10.0	(6)
No present problem	45.2	(14)	41.7	(5)	63.6	(7)	16.7	(1)	45.0	(27)
TOTAL (of cities sampled)	51.7	(31)	20.0	(12)	18.3	(11)	10.0	(6)	100.0	(60)

***Column percents are of cities in that size range.**

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

The classical assumptions of older youth gang studies may, therefore, be questioned. Nine of 27 cities reporting youth gangs (33.3 percent) are urban areas of 500,000 or more persons. The remaining two-thirds of the cities reporting youth gangs are those with populations of less than 500,000. As a policy matter, then, the proposition that one can account for most of the youth gang activity in the United States by concentrating efforts on large cities is less certain. The present report confirms Miller's conclusion; gangs are now appearing in areas outside the expected range.

Part of the problem in determining the extent of gang-related crime is linked to the statistical process of estimating the juvenile crime rate. Franklin Zimring, discussing the current estimates that juveniles account for almost half of all serious crime, states:

> One problem...is that the crude heterogeneous categories used in crime and arrest reporting lump serious and relatively minor offenses under single rubrics, such as robbery or assault. A second problem is that younger offenders who are arrested in groups are counted two, three, or even four times in single offense data far more commonly than are older offenders. (Zimring, 1981:874.)

The net result is a probable inflation of youth arrest statistics that are, themselves, a poor reflection of the amount of actual youth crime.

Miller makes the same point:

> With some exceptions the individual remains the primary focus of concern--in record keeping, in criminal justice processing, and in programs of social control, reform and rehabilitation. This reluctance to exploit systematically the collective nature of youth crime extends, for some, to a studied effort to minimize its importance, and to play down both the amount and significance of serious youth crime which involves multiple offenders acting in concert. (Miller, 1980:115.)

SERIOUSNESS OF THE YOUTH GANG PROBLEM

Preceding material suggests that gangs are a prevalent phenomenon in cities of the sizes surveyed. The seriousness of gang activities is best measured not by prevalence, number of gangs, or the number of members in gangs, but by the dimension of their antisocial behavior, by the numbers and types of crimes committed by gang members, and by the severity of these crimes. Unfortunately, this preliminary survey's attempts to use these measures were inhibited by responding police agencies' inability to supply the requisite statistical data. With the exception of a few departments, reliable gang-related crime statistics are not compiled, and while many estimates were provided, these could not be cross-checked for reliability.

A very crude assessment of the problem's severity was derived by asking police department spokespersons to list, in rough order of prevalence, the "types" of problems caused by youth gang activity. The results are displayed in Table 5 (p. 14). Police in 13 of the 26 departments (50 percent) offering this information reported Part I offenses (FBI Index crimes) as the most serious problem. Within this category, violent crimes were ranked the most serious problem by 10 (38.5 percent) departments. Typical of violent youth gang crimes reported were murder, violent street crime (robberies with and without use of weapons), aggravated assaults and muggings, gang vs. gang, and gang vs. citizen violence. Property crimes mentioned frequently were burglary, larceny, and auto theft.

An additional 13 departments reported Part II (FBI non-Index) crimes as their most serious problem. Among the types of youth gang-related criminal activity cited were criminal mischief and vandalism, purse and chain (jewelry) snatching, school disturbances, and harrassment/intimidation.

In appraising the "seriousness" of the youth gang problem, it must be remembered that, while youth gangs are perceived as a major law enforcement problem (in terms of severity) in 27 cities, another 27 (45 percent) of 60 reported neither youth gang nor youth group law-violating activity. The question, then, of whether or not youth gang activity will be viewed as major, moderate, or minor in any given location is probably a combination of factors (i.e., the number and size of the youth gangs, the type of problems caused, and the prevalence of youth gang activity as a proportion of total crime).

Table 5

POLICE DEPARTMENT RANKING OF YOUTH GANG CRIMES CONSIDERED THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS

Part I Offenses		
Violent	38.5	(10)
Property	11.5	(3)
Part II Offenses	50.0	(13)
	100.0	(26)*

***One city missing.**

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

Another view of the seriousness and extent of youth gang crime, and one that has attracted much attention, is that of the U.S. Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime. The Task Force Report suggests youth gangs account for a major share of all reported serious youth crime (U.S. Department of Justice, 1981). Citing Miller's recent report, "Crimes by Youth Gangs and Groups in the United States," submitted to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1981, Chapter 4, pp. 30ff, the Task Force states:

> It is estimated these disruptive youth groups involve perhaps up to 20 percent of eligible boys in cities of over 10,000 population and that about 71 percent of all serious crimes by youths are the product of law-violating groups. In addition to loosely-formed law-violating groups, there are about 2,000 gangs with 86,000 members located in approximately 300 U.S. cities and towns. (U.S. Department of Justice, Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime, 1981:84; see also Appendix E, p. 79 of this report.)

This assertion is tempered by methodological considerations and by Miller's earlier, more cautious approach: "[R]eporting that one's city has problems with crime by gangs or groups does not necessarily mean that such problems are considered to be serious." (Miller, 1980:128.)

The notion that "...about 71 percent of all serious crimes by youths are the product of law-violating groups" (U.S. Department of Justice, 1981) is somewhat alarming, and at first reading suggests that gangs, which are not synonymous in number with law-violating youth groups, nevertheless produce much crime. But, is this figure as serious as it portends to be? On what basis are we to judge the figure of 71 percent to be a problem? The relative importance or unimportance of a percentage

may be illustrated with the FBI Uniform Crime Report--1980 (UCR) for the United States (Webster, 1981), an accepted standard of law enforcement activity. Table 6 (p. 16) reproduces a portion of Table 33 of the 1981 UCR--the number of violent and property crimes making up the Crime Index total. The columns reporting for ages under 15, 18, and 21 are reproduced, along with column and row totals. In spite of its liabilities, the Crime Index will serve a heuristic purpose. Table 5 shows that in 1980, 789,648 juveniles (under 18) were reported arrested for Part I crime (Crime Index Total). Of these, 86,200 were arrested for violent crime. The degree to which one perceives juvenile serious or violent crime as a major problem is influenced by relating the amount of serious juvenile crime (789,648) and violent juvenile crime (86,220) to different denominators such as total Part I or total serious crime, total juvenile crime, and total crime. This is done in Table 7 (p. 17) using serious crime, that is, violent (personal) and property crime, for illustrative purposes, and Table 8 (p. 17) which uses violent crimes only.

If one concentrates on total serious or Part I crime as a base (2,198,077 in 1980), juveniles account for 35.9 percent of that figure (789,648 ÷ 2,198,077). More alarming, perhaps, is that serious juvenile crime accounts for 39 percent of the total juvenile crime (under 18) reported as 2,025,713 for 1980 (789,648 ÷ 2,025,713). Less alarming, however, is that juvenile Part I crime accounts for only 8.1 percent of the total crime (Index and non-Index for all ages) reported by police as 9,703,181 in 1980 (789,648÷9,703,181). The same reasoning, with comparable levels of expressed concern, may be derived from the proportion of violent juvenile crime computed on differing bases (Table 8). Table 8 reflects the results of the same analysis, using violent crimes only.

It is clear that the magnitude of juvenile (or youth) crime, and therefore youth gang crime, depends upon how one cuts and slices the pie. The U.S. Attorney General's report should be examined in the context of the various comparison groups suggested by Tables 7 and 8. Accepting the statement that "...71 percent of all serious crimes by youth are the product of law-violating youth groups" (U.S. Department of Justice, Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime, 1981:84), 71 percent of 789,648 Part I (Index) reported juvenile crimes is 560,650. The percentages reported in Table 7 would then be even smaller.

The preceding statistical illustration does not imply youth crime and problems of gang-related activity are issues that will disappear if one manipulates the data sufficiently. The point of this exercise is to illustrate a theme of this report: youth gang activity, as a major part of juvenile crime, must be considered within the context of total law enforcement resource management. Whereas juvenile arrests for Index crimes account for 39.0 percent of juvenile crime, they account for only 8.1 percent of total crime (Table 7). Depending upon which figure is selected as the focus of one's perspective, the magnitude of the problem is a function of that perspective. Taken as a proportion of total crime, youth gangs comprise but a small proportion of the criminal activity occupying police. Taken as a proportion of total serious, total juvenile, or total violent crime reported, the relative magnitude of the law enforcement problem increases.

We are not suggesting current beliefs about the magnitude of the youth gang problem facing this Nation's law enforcement agencies are either over- or under-dramatizations. Youth gangs and law-violating youth groups are clearly a major problem to many police departments. Police response to youth gang activity, however, is most likely related to the situation's perceived magnitude (defined locally), and the degree to which police management can distribute manpower

Table 6

TOTAL ARRESTS OF PERSONS UNDER 15, 18, AND 21 YEARS-OF-AGE

OFFENSE CHARGED	TOTAL All Ages	NUMBER OF PERSONS ARRESTED		
		Under 15	Under 18	Under 21
	TOTAL: 9,703,181	603,927	2,025,713	3,721,906
Murder and non-negligent manslaughter	18,745	200	1,742	4,628
Forcible rape	29,431	1,052	4,346	9,387
Robbery	139,476	9,941	41,997	73,993
Aggravated assault	258,721	9,988	38,135	76,840
Burglary	479,639	73,427	215,387	318,304
Larceny-theft	1,123,823	167,853	421,082	618,064
Motor vehicle theft	129,783	14,422	58,798	84,815
Arson	18,459	4,697	8,161	10,677
Violent crime*	446,373	21,181	86,220	164,848
Property crime**	1,751,704	260,399	703,428	1,196,708
CRIME INDEX TOTAL***	2,198,077	281,580	789,648	1,196,708

* Violent crimes are offenses of murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

** Property crimes are offenses of burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson.

***Includes arson, a newly established Index offense in 1979.

Source: Adapted from Table 32 from U.S. Department of Justice, FBI Uniform Crime Report for the United States--1980. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1981).

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

Table 7

EXTENT OF SERIOUS JUVENILE OR YOUTH CRIME, UNDER 18

COMPARISON GROUP (the data base)	REPORTED NUMBER OF ARRESTS FOR INDEX CRIMES--1980
	Juvenile (under 18) Total = 789,648
	% of data base
Total serious crime (Part I) = 2,198,077	35.9
Total juvenile crime = 2,025,713	39.0
Total crime = 9,703,181	8.1

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

Table 8

EXTENT OF VIOLENT JUVENILE OR YOUTH CRIME, UNDER 18

COMPARISON GROUP (the data base)	REPORTED NUMBER OF ARRESTS FOR VIOLENT CRIMES
	Juvenile (under 18) Total = 86,220
	% of data base
Total serious crime (Part I) = 2,198,077	3.9
Reported violent crime = 446,373	19.3
Reported juvenile crime = 2,025,713	4.3
Total crime = 9,703,181	0.8

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

resources to handle a targeted problem. Basically, the problem facing this analysis is not one of whether or not youth gangs exist or are a problem. They do exist, and they are a problem. This report's remaining text concerns the central issue of police response strategies, activities, and programs in handling youth gangs and law-violating youth groups.

Chapter 2

THE CURRENT POLICE RESPONSE

CHAPTER 1 reported youth gangs and law-violating youth groups pose problems to many communities. Youth gangs and problem youth groups are prevalent in many cities, varying in size and geographical location. Youth gang members and problem youth groups commit a substantial number of crimes, though proportionately less, according to our analysis, than other reports have led policymakers, criminal justice practitioners, and the public to believe. Youth gang members and problem youth groups are also responsible for a substantial number of violent crimes. This chapter describes police department responses to youth gang problems. It addresses issues of police organization for control of gangs, elements of the gang control process or function, current gang control strategies or programs, and resource commitment to gang control. The chapter also provides a preliminary evaluation of current gang control programs, and examines existing strategy and program success in prevention and control of gang problems.

ORGANIZATION FOR GANG CONTROL

Three specialized forms of gang control characterize the 27 city police departments reporting youth gang or youth group problems. In ascending order of specialization they are:

- The Youth Service Program: Traditional police unit personnel, most commonly the youth bureau or section, are assigned gang control responsibility. Personnel are not assigned exclusively nor principally to gang control work.

- The Gang Detail: One or more officers of a traditional police unit, most commonly youth or detective units, are assigned responsibility for the control of gang problems. The officers are assigned exclusively to gang control work.

- The Gang Unit: One or more officers in a unit established solely to cope with gang problems are assigned gang control responsibility. Personnel are assigned exclusively to gang control work.

Traditional police department units (patrol, investigations, community relations, and crime prevention) either share gang control responsibilities or support the organizational unit that has primary responsibility. Patterns of sharing and support among units are examined further in the section of this chapter entitled "Gang Control Programming."

As shown in Table 9 (p. 20), 12 of the 27 cities reporting youth gang and youth group problems rely on the non-specialized youth service program approach for prevention and control of crime by youth gang members: Berkeley, Davenport, Hayward, Jackson, Lakewood, Miami, Newark, New Haven, Portsmouth, Riverside, Salt Lake City,

Table 9

ORGANIZATION FOR GANG CONTROL

ORGANIZATIONAL FORM	TOTAL NUMBER OF SWORN PERSONNEL	PERCEPTION OF MAGNITUDE OF PROBLEM	GANG POPULATION		
			NUMBER OF GANGS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS	TOTAL MEMBERS (AVERAGE)
Youth Service Program					
Berkeley	168	Major	6	23	138
Davenport	140	Minor	2	17	34
Hayward	1[illegible]	Minor	3	No Data	No Data
Jackson	376	Minor	2	11	22
Lakewood	197	Minor	No Data	No Data	No Data
Miami	800	Minor	4	8	32
New Haven	40[illegible]	Minor	1	16	16
Newark	930	Minor	No Data	20	No Data
Portsmouth	232	Minor	No Data	No Data	No Data
Riverside	245	Major	15	15	225
Salt Lake City	370	Moderate	13	15	195
San Bernardino	210	Minor	6	No Data	No Data
Gang Detail					
Birmingham	675	Minor	8	35	280
Denver	1,450	Minor	18	No Data	No Data
Las Vegas	911	Minor	14	No Data	No Data
Pasadena	193	Minor	5	No Data	No Data
Peoria	267	Moderate	4	25	100
Phoenix	1,600	Moderate	20	No Data	No Data
San Antonio	1,100	Major	No Data	7	No Data
Gang Unit					
Chicago	12,000	Major	119	75	8,925
Detroit	4,200	Moderate	10	15	150
Los Angeles	6,900	Major	105	No Data	No Data
New York	26,000	Minor	86	50	4,300
Philadelphia	8,000	Minor	4	28	112
San Diego	1,300	Major	35	55	1,925
San Francisco	1,800	Major	6	25	150
Tucson	650	Major	2	10	20

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

and San Bernardino. Seven of the 27 cities have gang details: Birmingham, Denver, Las Vegas, Pasadena, Peoria, Phoenix, and San Antonio. Eight have established gang units: Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, San Diego, San Francisco, and Tucson. In several departments surveyed, organization has evolved from general to more specialized forms (i.e., from youth services programming to gang detail and to gang units). On the other hand, in some departments organization has changed from specialized to more general forms of gang control. It is not possible to comment authoritatively or comprehensively on this organizational facet since the present survey provided only an overview of current gang control programs and was not designed to examine historical evolutionary patterns.

Organizational form reflects and is probably responsive to a combination of factors: gang population (number of gangs and gang members), seriousness of the gang problem (the severity and number of crimes committed by gang members), and police department size. Which of these factors is dominant, if any? What is the relative significance of each factor? Table 9, Organization for Gang Control, displays data on gang population, seriousness of youth gang problems as perceived by gang control personnel, and size of the 27 departments that reported youth gang problems measured in number of sworn personnel. The departments are grouped within the typology of organizational forms defined earlier. The data in Table 9 reveal probable relationships between gang population and organizational form. Specialization is positively related to gang population. The larger the population, the more specialized the form. In cities that employ the youth service approach (the least specialized approach), the average number of gangs is 5.8, the average number of members per gang is 15.4, and the estimated average total number of gang members is 95. Comparable figures for the two progressively specialized approaches, the gang detail and the gang unit, are consistently higher in each category. In gang detail cities, the average number of gangs is 11.5, the average number of members per gang is 31.7, and the estimated average total number of gang members is 190.* Figures are dramatically higher for gang unit cities. In gang unit cities, the average number of gangs is 45.9, the average number of members per gang is 59.5, and the average total number of gang members is 2,226. The figures for every gang population category are distorted by one or two large departments. Removing these departments lowers totals but does not influence the basic relationships among categories and departments.

The "seriousness" of gang problems may be operationally defined as consisting of two components: (1) the severity, and (2) the number of crimes committed by gang members. However, as respondents were generally unable to supply reliable statistical information on the amount and kind of crime attributable to youth gang members and problem youth groups, this study employed an alternative measure of "seriousness." Respondents were asked to indicate whether they perceived gang problems to be minor, moderate, or major. (Again, our method was to allow the individual respondent to define, in terms of the total law enforcement situation, the magnitude of the problem on a three-item scale.) This information is also illustrated in Table 9.

A relationship between perceived seriousness of gang problems and organizational form is evident from the data in Table 9. Perceived seriousness of gang problems is strongly associated with degree of specialization. That is, the more serious the problem is perceived to be, the more likely that police departments will have specialized organizational forms to address gang problems. Respondents in nine of the 12 departments employing the youth service program form (the least specialized

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*This average is devised from only those two gang detail cities contributing data (Birmingham and Peoria).

approach) classified their gang problems as minor*, one as moderate, and two as major.

The survey results indicate gang problems are generally perceived more serious by respondents in departments with established gang details. Four of the seven respondents in gang detail cities labeled their problems as minor. The relationship between organizational specialization and seriousness of crime emerges with more clarity in cities with gang units. Five of the eight departments where gang problems are perceived to be serious have established gang units, the most specialized of the organizational forms. Respondents in two of the remaining three departments with gang units classified problems as moderate, and one department classified the problem as minor.

The survey data also indicate department size is associated with organizational form. That is, specialization is principally characteristic of larger departments. Departments with gang units employ an average of 7,606 sworn personnel, cities with gang details have an average of 885 sworn personnel, and youth service program cities employ an average of 351 sworn personnel.

The apparent relationship between department size and organizational specialization may reflect the ability of larger police departments to more readily acquire additional or redirected resources. In such cases, should gang problems escalate, the departments would be able to adjust their programs and resources to meet the need for gang control.

Questions remain about the relationship between and among organizational types and factors believed to be associated with them; the scope of the present data precludes definitive correlational or causal statements about the hypothesized relationships. Until more definitive statistical research is conducted, the reader is urged to note the exceptions to the generalities presented above. For example, in some cities with gang units, gang population is smaller than in several cities where the youth services program model is used. Similarly, although department size appears to be associated with organizational form, several large departments do not have gang units. Finally, the relationship between perceived seriousness of the problem and the organizational type is not yet understood and merits further research.

THE YOUTH GANG CONTROL FUNCTION

In most police agencies, the youth gang control function encompasses four classes of activities: information processing, prevention, enforcement, and follow-up investigation.

Information processing, referred to as the intelligence function in most departments, involves gathering, filing, retrieving, and in some cases analyzing information on youth gangs and youth gang members. Gang affiliation, names and addresses of gang members, "monikers," associates, automobiles owned or driven, weapons owned or used, and criminal histories typify the type of information police agencies currently maintain. Arrest reports, field interrogation reports, investigation

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*Responses such as "no problem" and "gangs are dormant" were classified as minor for consistency of reporting.

reports, informants, associates of gang member, and gang members themselves are the principal information sources.

Prevention encompasses a profusion of activities and programs aimed at deterring or suppressing criminal and antisocial behavior among youth gangs and individual youth gang members toward community members. Prevention strategies range from those directed at all youth (which encompasses gang members), such as school information programs, to those targeted directly at gang members and gang activities, such as police mediation efforts. Contemporary prevention strategy examples are provided in this chapter's section on successful practices, and in Chapter 3's section on practitioners' recommendations for gang control program improvement.

Enforcement activities include proactive and reactive efforts to suppress criminal activity and apprehend those who are believed to have committed crimes. Traditional arrest-oriented police practices such as visible patrol, random or directed surveillance, and use of task force strategies typify enforcement strategies.

Follow-up investigation is directed toward apprehension of gang members who have, or are alleged to have committed crimes. Detective and other police investigative personnel dealing with youth gang or problem youth group crime follow-up generally employ practices traditionally followed by personnel to clear crimes.

Unexpectedly, survey results demonstrate diffused gang control function. Despite existence of specialized organizational forms in many departments, gang control activities are conducted by some or all personnel in several units in every department. The survey data show gang control activity distribution between at least two, and often among a greater number of units in all 15 police departments responding to the survey question. Twelve departments offered no information about gang control function.

Of the 15 departments, six share gang activities between two units, five share activities among three units, two share among four units, and the remaining two departments had unclassifiable responses. Diffusion of the degree of gang control programs differs by class of activity (i.e., information processing; prevention; enforcement; and follow-up investigations). Information processing is the least diffused activity. That is, 12 departments use the gang unit or gang detail for this work (three departments are unclassified). Prevention activities are shared to a large extent by gang details or units, community relations units, crime prevention units, and patrol and youth units. Six of the departments reflect this shared activity, six have gang units solely responsible for prevention, and three were unclassifiable. Enforcement is the most diffused gang control activity; none of the 15 departments delegate gang-oriented enforcement to a single organizational unit. As expected, patrol and youth units have central roles in enforcement. Follow-up investigations are typically shared, though not quite to the extent that enforcement activities are--seven of the 15 departments share these activities.

The foregoing analysis may understate the degree to which gang control activities are diffused. The survey question producing the data for the above analysis was directed toward determining whether gang units and gang details bore primary responsibility for the gang control function, or whether responsibility was shared with other units. Greater emphasis was placed on whether responsibility was centralized or shared than on what other units were involved in gang control, and to what extent. Asking which units conducted which activities and the extent of their involvement would have produced more complete data and, it is strongly suspected,

evidence of greater diffusion. The question was not addressed to agencies where the youth service program approach prevails. In these agencies, where the focus on gang problems is less specialized, greater diffusion is almost certain to be found. Universally, youth divisions rely extensively on patrol and investigation divisions for assistance. Finally, further research is needed to determine which units carry ultimate or principal responsibility among the shared activities.

GANG CONTROL PROGRAMMING

In police departments of cities reporting youth gang problems, programming is characterized by combined strategy to (1) prevent crime by youth gang members, and (2) apprehend youth gang members who do commit crimes. Recreation programs such as police athletic leagues, neighborhood and parent councils to help identify, counsel, and refer troubled youth, school-based programs that involve counseling, crime prevention work, building better police-youth relations, and informing students about employment and social service opportunities are among the most popular prevention programs. Preventive patrol and other suppression activities are quite common. In many departments, especially those with specialized gang personnel, classical social service "streetwork" oriented to suppression as well as prevention is used. The strategies most frequently employed to apprehend youth gang members who have, or are alleged to have committed crimes include standard patrol tactics such as rapid response during or just after commission of crimes; immediate follow-up investigation by patrol officers, youth officers, or specialized gang personnel; and more traditional follow-up investigation by personnel from a variety of units. Apprehension, when successful, is generally followed by use of the most appropriate of the standard trilogy of alternatives that police exercise in dealing with juvenile offenders--counsel and release, informal adjustment at the station, and referral to juvenile court. In some cities, selection of the "most appropriate" alternative is influenced by a deliberately conceived gang control strategy. This strategy, "gang-breaking," is discussed later in this section and in Chapter 3.

A prominent feature of current gang control programming is its similarity to general police programming. Unique and innovative gang-specific approaches are less evident than use of traditional crime prevention and control approaches and practices. The data in Table 10 (p. 25), Special Programs in Cities with Youth Gang Problems, indicate police departments in the majority of gang problem cities have no special programs for gang control. Respondents in 14 of the 27 cities reporting gang problems declared their police departments do not conduct programs exclusively directed at youth gangs or gang members, but subject youth gangs to the same program repertoire aimed at youth in general. The majority of these cities employ the youth service program approach.

Furthermore, as illustrated in Table 10, many of the reported "special" programs to prevent and control crime and other antisocial behavior by gangs, gang members, and problem youth group members employ essentially the same set of strategies used to deal with juvenile offenders, potential juvenile offenders, and adult offenders. Thirteen respondent departments have established special programs, the nature of which vary considerably. Programs mentioned include: school-based lecture programs, police-school liaison programs, and information dissemination strategies; recreation programs such as police athletic leagues and job programs; and techniques commonly associated with "streetwork" (e.g., counseling, working with parents and community organizations to resolve difficulties experienced by youth).

Table 10

SPECIAL PROGRAMS IN CITIES WITH YOUTH GANG PROBLEMS

ORGANIZATIONAL FORM	SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR GANGS	NATURE OF SPECIAL PROGRAMS
Youth Service Program		
Berkeley	NO	
Davenport	NO	
Hayward	YES	Community Access Team: skills development and job placement (covers all juveniles)
Jackson	NO	
Lakewood	NO	
Miami	NO	(Just general juvenile delinquency programs)
New Haven	NO	
Newark	YES	Youth Aid Bureau; PAL; investigation of offenses, counseling
Portsmouth	NO	
Riverside	NO	
Salt Lake City	NO	
San Bernardino	NO	
Gang Detail		
Birmingham	YES	Job training; athletic programs; block watch programs; referral programs
Denver	NO	
Las Vegas	YES	Interaction with schools and parents
Pasadena	YES	Identification of potential gang members and diversion; recreational programs; referrals
Peoria	NO	
Phoenix	YES	PAL--in neighborhoods where there is trouble
San Antonio	NO	Dealing with individuals on an individual basis; getting community members to introduce police to gang members; engage gang members in physical sports
Gang Unit		
Chicago	YES	Speaking engagements; formation of neighborhood groups to work with problem people
Detroit	YES	Speaking at schools; PAL; work with community groups; counseling, enforcement
Los Angeles	YES	CRASH (Community Resources Against South Bureau Hoodlums) teams
New York	YES	Youth Dialogue Program (a live-in program); police-gang liaison; task forces; hot line
Philadelphia	YES	Street work
San Diego	YES	Standard juvenile programs
San Francisco	NO	
Tucson	YES	School lectures; educate teachers to deal with problems

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

Exceptions to this general approach are the Los Angeles Police Department's Community Resources Against South Bureau Hoodlums (CRASH) program and Tucson's program to train teachers to deal with gangs and gang members, both conceived and implemented to respond directly and exclusively to gang problems. A number of special programs administered by police and other public agencies that were not included in the survey are summarized in Appendix E.

It must be stressed that the foregoing analysis is based on a preliminary view of departmental programs and strategies. More extensive program evaluation is necessary to determine the degree to which the programs discussed use techniques that differ substantially from traditional techniques.

Many police agencies participate in extra-departmental alliances promoting cooperative responses to gang problems between police, State and local government, and community agencies. Table 11 (pp. 27-28) illustrates how the 27 police departments discussed herein describe the extent and general nature of their involvement in extra-departmental programs. From the data, four inferences were drawn:

- approximately half of the agencies participate in extra-departmental programs aimed at prevention or control of youth problems;
- most extra-departmental programs are informally organized and sporadically utilized;
- most extra-departmental programs involve community-wide efforts to aid all youths, rather than concentrating specifically on youth gangs and their members; and
- a few extra-departmental efforts specifically focusing on gang problems exist, but the practice has not been widely adopted.

First, as Table 11 indicates, only 14 of the 27 police departments in cities reporting youth gang problems participate in some extra-departmental gang-oriented activity. Thirteen departments do not engage in any extra-departmental programs.

Second, most extra-departmental interactions consist of informal and sporadic information exchanges. Such exchanges generally consist of direct informal requests from one agency to another and unscheduled informal information exchanges among gang officers. Several respondents did note continuing interaction among police departments, corrections, and probation agencies whereby police are notified about gang members who, as one respondent stated, "are going in or coming out."

Third, some departments are or have been involved with local governmental planning, advisory, and study commissions (e.g., mayors' human relations commissions, social services coordinating councils), as well as school, neighborhood, and other community groups. However, there is little evidence such exchanges actually occur or that these endeavors have much direct impact on gang programs, gang control policies, or gang control procedures. This is a result of broad agendas that encompass a myriad of community criminal and juvenile justice problems and needs. Consequently, most groups concentrate on programs serving all youth rather than those specifically aimed at youth gang programs.

Table 11

EXTRA-DEPARTMENTAL GANG PROGRAMS

ORGANIZATIONAL FORM	PARTICIPATION IN EXTRA-DEPARTMENTAL PROGRAMS OR ACTIVITIES	NATURE OF EXTRA-DEPARTMENTAL ACTIVITIES
Youth Service Program		
Berkeley	YES	Meet monthly with other local agencies regarding gang activities.
Davenport	NO	Exchange information with other police agencies
Hayward	NO	Except for mayor or council's anti-grafitti program
Jackson	NO	
Lakewood	NO	
Miami	NO	
New Haven	NO	
Newark	YES	Work closely with probation department and community youth services
Portsmouth	NO	
Riverside	NO	Except for involvement in California Gang Association
Salt Lake City	YES	Coordination with all local law enforcement agencies to trade information
San Bernardino	NO	Previously worked with sheriff's intelligence unit--shared gang book

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

Table 11 cont'd

EXTRA-DEPARTMENTAL GANG PROGRAMS

ORGANIZATIONAL FORM	PARTICIPATION IN EXTRA-DEPARTMENTAL PROGRAMS OR ACTIVITIES	NATURE OF EXTRA-DEPARTMENTAL ACTIVITIES
Gang Detail		
Birmingham	YES	Work with Partners in Neighborhood Growth (public/private corporation formed to develop jobs and athletic programs) and with Clergy That Care (referral agency); work with city agencies--schools, recreation department, social service agencies
Denver	YES	Work with mayor's human relations committee to work on all human relations problems including gangs
Las Vegas	YES	One gang officer works with organizations on job development; work with probation and parole agencies
Pasadena	YES	Work with school counselors; work with city council's community relations groups--members who work with many problems including gangs
Peoria	NO	
Phoenix	YES	Work with city agencies that make jobs available
San Antonio	YES	Community relations bureau works with all service agencies in the city
Gang Unit		
Chicago	YES	Work with Department of Corrections--exchanging information on prisoner sentencing and release; exchange information with the gang officers of 20 suburban police agencies
Detroit	YES	Work with New Detroit Corporation to get money for jobs channeled into neighborhoods that have gangs
Los Angeles	YES	Work with citizen groups; do planning and coordination with other city agencies; exchange information with police agencies
New York	NO	Not now; when gangs were more active worked with city agencies
Philadelphia	YES	Work with area youth workers and community leaders--meet weekly; periodically work with crisis information teams--deal with problems of all sorts
San Diego	YES	Regional training conducted for law enforcement personnel; arranging grant through city for counseling program; attend gang association meetings
San Francisco	NO	Nothing with city agencies; some work with neighborhood groups; interact with neighborhood groups
Tucson	YES	Taught teachers in schools to work with gangs; conduct activities with schools and other groups

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

Finally, projects specifically targeting youth gang problems do exist, but are few in number. Five recent efforts include:

- Operation Safe Streets in Los Angeles County, California involves joint law enforcement, prosecutorial, and probation agency efforts (U.S. Department of Justice, OJARS, 1981) (see Appendix E, p. 79);

- Probation and Police Suppression of Youth Gang Activity Project in Orange County, California develops more productive police-probation department relationships (U.S. Department of Justice, Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981) (see Appendix E, p. 79);

- Juvenile Gang Reduction Specialist Project in Douglas, Arizona coordinates more effective police and juvenile court action on gangs (U.S. Department of Justice, Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981) (see Appendix E, p. 79);

- Philadelphia's Crisis Intervention Network, Inc. teaming civilian and government personnel in the fight against gang violence (Swan, 1983); and

- Los Angeles County Inter-Agency Task Force on Gang Violence coordinating law enforcement, probation, district attorney, parole, community, and school agency efforts to reduce gang problems (Johnson, 1983:1-2).

Highlighting the efforts of the Los Angeles County Inter-Agency Task Force on Gang Violence provides a useful indicator of extra-departmental efforts directed specifically at youth gangs. In October 1980, the Los Angeles County Board of supervisors authorized the formation of the Inter-Agency Task Force on Gang Violence to coordinate activities of key agencies involved in reducing antisocial gang activity. The programs and activities currently funded include the L.A. Sheriff's Operation Safe Streets, District Attorney's Operation Hardcore, Probation Department's Specialized Gang Supervision Program, Community Youth Gang Services Project, California Youth Authority Parole Service and its Gang Project, Los Angeles City Schools Security Unit, Los Angeles County Schools, and Los Angeles Police Department's CRASH program.

Together, these organizations created a "systematic method for the reduction of gang violence...which involved the various elements of the Criminal Justice System as well as a grassroots approach to the community." (Johnson, 1983:1.) Agencies work together on a close basis, systematically discussing information and planning strategies on a monthly basis and communicating daily between members. The Task Force operational mode is its Community Youth Gang Services Project (CYGSP) that deploys highly mobile street teams to mediate gang conflicts. The teams strive for high visibility in selected target areas and are supported by Community Specialists who mobilize community resources (e.g., PTA, schools, churches) into an integrated network. Participants in this program believe the statistics point to the effectiveness of regular communication and planning: in 1980, all Los Angeles County (L.A. Police Department and L.A. Sheriff's Department) gang-related homicides were reduced by 18 percent; from 1981 to 1982, the homicide rate decreased by 32 percent comparing the first six months' period (Johnson, 1983:2).

Indeed, identifying effective gang control programs was one of the survey's principal purposes. Thus, the survey team queried respondents about successful and unsuccessful programs and practices in the prevention and control of crime by youth gang

members and problem youth groups. Table 12 (pp. 31-32) records these programs and practices, reinforcing the contention that traditional practices form the nucleus of contemporary police response to youth gang problems. The responses cluster into two categories: (1) those oriented toward prevention, and (2) those oriented toward control, or toward "gang-breaking."

Two types of prevention practices were mentioned--those that seek to redirect a youth gang member or potential youth gang member, and those that seek to inhibit or suppress criminal activity. Practices falling into the first category include: jointly determining and attempting to find solutions to problems faced by youth gang members; speaking to youth gang leaders to divert their antisocial tendencies; finding jobs for youth gang members; outreach programs placing officers in schools and establishing live-in opportunities (e.g., youth gang members and officers spending time together in extramural settings); and athletic programs, including ones in which police and youth gang members jointly participate. Practices falling into the second category include: making youth gang members aware that police know who they are and that they are being watched; getting community members to introduce police to youth gang members; and getting youth gangs together to talk about their problems.

Respondents in at least five departments found "gang-breaking" or control practices to be successful. These respondents felt it useful to focus on youth gang leaders, arrest them, have them prosecuted, convicted, and incarcerated when possible. The "gang-breaking" method argues that with leaders gone the gang becomes less effective, at least for a time. It is assumed arrests are made through use of traditional police strategies such as saturation patrol (by patrol units and/or youth officers and gang squads), surveillance, stakeouts, and effective follow-up investigations. Respondents were not particularly forthcoming with comments on how they went about effecting arrests of gang leaders, probably because of concerns over the possibility of weakening strategies through publicity. The practices listed above are primarily those police have employed for some time to deal with both youth and adult offenders or potential youth and adult offenders. The "gang-breaking" strategy stands out as innovative, non-traditional, and unique in that it is directed toward the phenomenon of the gang itself, and not at the gang members exclusively.

The similarity between the "gang-breaking" approach and the approach prosecutorial authorities have undertaken toward organized crime is interesting. Similarly, such approaches are used by insurgent groups to weaken the effectiveness of organized governments, societies, and competing organizations. The "gang-breaking" philosophy and accompanying strategies are elaborated upon in Chapter 3.

Finally, indicating that gang control programming consists mainly of traditional police responses and is only marginally characterized by innovative strategies does not imply a criticism of current practices. Judgments about current program value, whether traditional or innovative, can only be properly based on evaluative research. Such analyses are beyond this report's scope. There is an obvious need for such work. The absence of evaluative information impaired this report's ability to identify effective or promising gang control strategies.

Effectiveness is the degree to which objectives (or goals) are successfully achieved. Clear, precise, and articulated goals or objectives and valid measures of them are prerequisites for measuring effectiveness. Discussions with survey

Table 12

SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL GANG CONTROL PRACTICES

ORGANIZATIONAL FORM	SUCCESSFUL PRACTICES	UNSUCCESSFUL PRACTICES
Youth Service Program		
Berkeley	Identification enables police to be visible and foretell problems	No Data
Davenport	Talking to gang members on neutral ground; determine what gangs consider problems and try joint solutions	No Data
Hayward	---	No Data
Jackson	Get gangs together to talk to air differences, make gangs aware police know what they are doing and consequences of same	Hard line approach does not work
Lakewood	---	No Data
Miami	Task force--make arrests	No Data
New Haven	Individual members of the department making contact and keeping them honest	No Data
Newark	Speaking to gang leaders to divert antisocial tendencies; "let them know we know who they are"	No Data
Portsmouth	---	No Data
Riverside	Identify gang members, and arrest, or deal with parents	Ignoring it
Salt Lake City	Suppression methods--key on and arrest leaders, get away from normal tactics (in car)--use military tactics	Trying to reason with certain members--it doesn't work on them
San Bernardino	Getting help from business people; identifying associates helps prevention and prosecution; talking with gang members	No Data

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

Table 12 cont'd

SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL GANG CONTROL PRACTICES

ORGANIZATIONAL FORM	SUCCESSFUL PRACTICES	UNSUCCESSFUL PRACTICES
Youth Service Program		
Birmingham	Job training	Getting trained people employed
Denver	Training patrol officers to handle youth--"soft" approach	No Data
Las Vegas	---	No Data
Pasadena	Outreach programs that deal directly--officers in schools, live-in programs--these let kids know the system cares	Passive programs
Peoria	---	No Data
Phoenix	Get in early; identify leaders; jail leaders	Trying to treat incidents individually; look at problem as a whole
San Antonio	Dealing with individuals on an individual basis; getting community members to introduce police to gang members; engage gang members in physical sports	No Data
Gang Unit		
Chicago	Must let gangs know who police are; must incarcerate hardcore gang members	No Data
Detroit	Deal with hardcore gang members through criminal justice system; deal with hangers-on through programs	No Data
Los Angeles	---	No Data
New York	Separating responsibility, analyzing problem, coordinating activities and enforcement; strong enforcement; working with city agencies	No Data
Philadelphia	Work with community groups to divert potential gang members; arrest gang leaders; de-glamorize gangs	No Data
San Diego	---	No Data
San Francisco	Establish rapport with gangs; build strong cases	No Data
Tucson	Public speaking; putting "heat" on gang members; let them know "we know" what they are up to	No Data

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

respondents produced no evidence that the police agencies for which they work have established clear goals or objectives for gang control programs, nor have they systematically employed valid, reliable measures of effectiveness. It appears departments are presently unprepared to measure the effectiveness of gang control programming. Special projects would have to be instituted to enable them to do so.

Respondents in one-third of the departments were willing to provide informal subjective appraisals of their gang control program's effectiveness, and to state the criteria by which they reached conclusions. Their appraisals and explanations are summarized in Table 13 (p. 34), Appraisals of Effectiveness. All but one respondent declared his department's efforts successful. The appraisals range from "dramatically successful" to "successful to a degree." Respondents derived their appraisals in diverse ways. Some based their conclusions on objective criteria (e.g., arrest rates, clearance rates, conviction rates, and program placements). While such measures might be valid appraisals of success, statistical reliability is questionable. The respondents were generally unable to supply quantitative statistical data on other survey subjects (e.g., "What proportion of crime is committed by gang members?" and "What proportion of juvenile crime is committed by gang members?"). This strongly suggests conclusions provided regarding favorable arrest, clearance, and conviction rates are probably based on nonsystematic evaluation efforts rather than statistical information. Indeed, several respondents noted the absence of quantitative data. Other respondents used more subjective or impressionistic criteria (e.g., requests for assistance and positive response from clientele). Some respondents used no criteria at all, preferring instead to comment on police potential in managing or eliminating gang problems (e.g., responses such as "can't eliminate gangs, can reduce violence," and "problem is manageable but can't be eliminated").

THE COST OF GANG CONTROL

Police costs incurred to prevent and control crime and other antisocial behavior by youth gang members and problem youth groups are unknown and may never be known. An accurate police resource assessment for prevention and control of crime by youth gang members and problem youth groups, whether measured in dollars, employee hours, or both, must account, at a minimum, for total expenditures for each of the four gang control activities described earlier. An attempt at an assessment of this magnitude was clearly beyond the scope of this exploratory survey. Furthermore, given the diffusion of gang control activities and the limited sophistication of the cost accounting systems employed by the Nation's police agencies, from a cost standpoint, any attempt to assess investments would be highly impractical, if not altogether impossible. The survey produced data on the number of personnel assigned to gang details and gang units. These data may be used as crude indicators to determine police department investment in specialized gang control programs.

Available data suggest modest investments in gang detail departments, sizeable in gang unit departments, and substantial in several gang unit departments. Gang details are small and uniform, ranging from one to four personnel. The number of persons assigned to gang details represents an absolutely minuscule percentage of total departmental personnel surveyed. In the department in which gang detail personnel represent the largest percentage of total personnel, they represent only 1.5 percent of the total. In most departments, gang detail personnel do not even approach one percent of the total. Gang units are substantially larger, ranging from three to 150 members, and are not uniform in size. Gang units are sizeable in several departments (two departments have over 100 officers and one department has

Table 13

APPRAISALS OF EFFECTIVENESS

ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS	APPRAISAL	CRITERIA FOR APPRAISAL
Youth Service Program		
Hayward	Dramatically successful	Get many phone calls for assistance; letters of appreciation from kids; workload information on placements
Gang Detail		
Denver	Successful	Don't have intensity of problems seen in other Southwest cities; we must be doing something right
Phoenix	Successful to a degree	Problem is manageable though it can't be eliminated; have no quantitative measures
Gang Unit		
Chicago	Successful	Can't eliminate gangs but can reduce violence; must let gangs know who police are; must concentrate on hardcore members
Los Angeles	Successful	Favorable arrest and clearance rates of gang units; no figures on community attitudes or prevention efforts
New York	Successful	Cooperation with city agencies; separate responsibility for analyzing problems, coordination, monitoring activities, and enforcement
Philadelphia	Successful	Difficult to say why; strategies include knocking off leadership to break gang structure and work with community groups (provide information on kids who don't want to be in gangs)
San Diego	Unsuccessful	Statistics say we are not successful--gangs and gang crime are growing; last eight months things improving; better follow-up (more done by gang unit); better cooperation from DA
San Francisco	Highly Successful	Prosecution and arrest rates are high (no numbers on arrests); almost every case is a winner; good rapport with gangs

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

almost 50 officers). Viewed as proportions of total sworn personnel, gang units represent even smaller percentages of the total department membership than gang details. It is a limitation of this report that the costs of these activities cannot be determined.

GANG CONTROL PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

Although the present survey did not conduct a comprehensive management audit, information was gathered on three topics typically addressed: gang control program policies and procedures, training, and effectiveness of current programming. The information gathered, while not comprising a comprehensive management audit, provides useful indicators of the managerial quality of contemporary gang control programs. More detailed management audits should be conducted, addressing the following areas: existence and technical adequacy of measurable goals and objectives; the degree to which goals and objectives are met; existence and technical adequacy of policies and procedures; appropriateness and efficiency of activities conducted to achieve goals and objectives; number and quality of personnel assigned to conduct activities; technical adequacy of recruitment, training, and supervision of personnel; adequacy of resources committed; expenditure patterns; interdepartmental and extradepartmental relationships that enhance or impair achievement of goals and objectives; and examination of community attitudes and police-community relationships.

Survey respondents were asked to indicate whether their departments have written policies and procedures for gang control, whether gang control personnel receive specialized training, and if so, to specify the nature, frequency, and provider of training. The overwhelming majority of departments conduct programs without benefit of written policies and procedures and with untrained gang control personnel. Only four of the 27 departments reporting youth gang problems have written policies and procedures (responses of two departments were unclassifiable). Gang control personnel receive some form of gang control training in only nine of the 27 police departments. Training seems to be characteristic of larger departments and those with the more specialized organizational forms. Of the nine departments which provide training, five have gang units. Three of the remaining four departments have established gang details. The other department employs the youth service program model.

The data provided by survey respondents on the nature and content of training programs for youth gang control is limited. Few respondents were able to provide descriptions of curricula. In some cases this was because the respondents themselves had never received training, or as discussed later in this report, training offerings tend to be loosely structured. Descriptions provided suggest contemporary gang training is a roughly proportional mix of gang-specific and standard delinquency control training. Some of the gang-specific material presented in trainings for gang control specialists includes: policy toward gangs; structure and functioning of street gangs; structure and functioning of prison gangs; and intelligence production and use. The "Street Gangs Investigation" course given by the State of California covers gang structure, graffiti and its meaning, gang investigation and prosecution, and gang control information requirements and use (State of California, 1981). Several respondents noted their gang control training included modules on juvenile law, family violence, and child abuse. These subjects are more commonly associated with standard delinquency control curricula; however, they are also relevant to youth gang control.

In-house or in-service training predominates in the cities surveyed. Five of the nine departments that provide training have devised in-house programs. Apparently, in most cases, supervisors and gang specialists serve as faculty. Several agencies rely on other law enforcement agencies for training, which means they are receiving an in-house brand of training as well. In-house training is augmented through use of outside speakers and attendance at university courses; the University of Southern California's Delinquency Control Institute (DCI) is commonly used by police departments. The DCI curriculum does not provide gang-specific training, but rather gives standard juvenile delinquency control information. Two departments' respondents mentioned "schools" conducted by the State of California, referring to the "Street Gangs Investigation" course cited above. This is the only publicly offered, specialized gang control training program discovered during the survey.

Data on frequency and amount of gang control training are also limited in quantity and quality. Training frequency responses such as "ongoing" and "periodic" are difficult to classify for conclusion purposes. Tentative conclusions drawn from the data indicate personnel receive varied amounts of training. Personnel in several departments receive a significant amount of training according to police training standards (e.g., 40 hours of training, or 8-hour sessions two or three times per year). Personnel in other departments receive substantially less training.

SUMMING UP

Examination of the current police response to youth gangs, problem youth groups, and the problems they cause indicates:

- Gang control is found in three increasingly specialized forms: youth service programs, gang details, and gang units. Organizational form appears reflective of gang population, seriousness of gang problems, and overall police department size. The actual relationships among these factors are unknown since the data are exploratory and descriptive in nature. However, it appears specialization is positively related to gang population, perceived seriousness of gang problems, and police department size. That is, the larger the gang population, the more serious the perception of the gang problem; the larger the police department size, the more likelihood of a specialized gang control unit.

- Four classes of activities are conducted to deter and control crime and antisocial behavior by gang members and problem youth groups: information gathering, processing, and analysis (or, intelligence); prevention; enforcement; and follow-up investigation. In every police agency surveyed, these activities, collectively referred to as the gang control function, are diffused among several units despite existence of specialized gang units and gang details. Youth patrol investigations, crime prevention, and community relations units most commonly share responsibility with specialized gang units and details for prevention and control of gang crime.

- Gang control programs feature combined strategies designed or selected to prevent crime and antisocial behavior by youth gang members and problem youth groups and/or to apprehend them when they commit or are alleged to have committed crimes. Current gang control programming's most prominent feature is its similarity to police programming generally. Unique, innovative, gang-specific approaches are less evident than use of traditional crime prevention and control practices.

- The gang control programs of many police departments have an extra-departmental dimension to them. Many departments engage in cooperative endeavors with other police, State and local government, and community agencies. While over half the departments surveyed herein participate in extra-departmental programs, most efforts are informally organized, sporadically utilized, and designed to serve all youth rather than specifically focusing on youth gangs and their members. Although a few extra-departmental programs aimed at youth gang problems currently exist, this organizational strategy is not widespread.

- Evaluation is essential to measure the effectiveness of current programs; unfortunately, evaluation efforts must be deferred until police departments and their parent governments undertake effectiveness measurement. The current failure to evaluate the effectiveness of departmental gang control programs is a serious flaw in present program management.

- Gang crime prevention and control costs cannot be measured accurately. The gang control function's diffusion and the limited sophistication of police cost accounting systems make any attempt to fashion an accurate assessment highly impractical, if not impossible. Crude indicators produced during the survey indicate several large police departments, particularly those with specialized gang units, made sizeable investments in gang prevention and control. In most other agencies, investments seem modest.

- Available indicators suggest many contemporary gang programs operate without benefit of written policies and procedures and with personnel who have often received little formal, professionally administered training.

Few definitive statements concerning the state of contemporary gang prevention can be made on the basis of this pilot study. Inquiries into this area are still relatively rare, and there is little comparative information available to serve as a reference for the present findings. It is tempting to hypothesize that the contemporary response to gang prevention and control is embryonic. The developmental level of current gang control practices barely approaches that of even newer police program areas such as community crime prevention or riot control, let alone the core areas such as patrol and investigations. Conventions such as basic operating practices, standard training curricula, evaluation methodologies, and even a general body of literature have yet to emerge in this area. Response efforts appear informal, non-systematic, and rely on communication rather than active involvement in program development. This is understandable since even recognized youth gang problems do not assume the significance of many other issues a police department faces. The gang problem's low priority is partially due to its cyclical nature. Most police departments strive solely to contain gang problems as they erupt. Interest in systematic gang programs wanes as the problems dissipate on their own. Although gang problems show variable patterns, the longitudinal view indicates they persist in resurfacing, especially in large cities. Continual and systematic prevention of gang problems is a generally unexplored area meriting further research and program development.

Chapter 3

THE FUTURE POLICE RESPONSE

THE PRESENT survey was designed to assess the state-of-the-art regarding police handling of youth gangs and the effectiveness of police strategies in reducing youth gang violence and redirecting youth gang activities. While further research on the topics examined is necessary, the present effort has been extensive enough to suggest a number of ways in which police, the governments they serve, and the communities in which they function might improve their responses to youth gangs and youth gang problems. The suggested improvements concern police gang control program effectiveness.

IMPROVING MANAGEMENT OF POLICE GANG CONTROL PROGRAMS

The gang control program management analysis revealed three areas needing improvement: coordination, training, and evaluation. The following improvement recommendations apply to police departments irrespective of size, organizational gang control form, or gang problem severity.

Coordination

The survey results indicate the gang control function is a collaborative endeavor with as many as four units (in one police department) involved in gang control. Goal, policy, and operation coordination are important in such environments. Inconsistent and conflicting administration of gang control activities creates and maintains problems in program delivery.

A variety of mechanisms are used to coordinate diffused police functions; the most effective involves centralizing responsibility for goal setting, planning, operations, and monitoring in one unit. Such units have formal authority over all other units with respect to the activities in question. Centralized authority is formalized through written policies and procedures. These policies and procedures carefully delineate roles, powers, and responsibilities of the several units that participate in or influence the various functions, and are issued to all personnel involved in the coordinated functions. Measures ensuring compliance with these policies and procedures are implemented.

The present survey data indicate that neither centralized responsibility nor written policies and procedures are being used widely. The information gathered shows a widespread absence of written policies and procedures; four of the 27 departments have them. Unless agencies maintain coordination in other ways, such as frequent and effective oral communication in either formal or informal settings, coordination of gang control programs in many agencies is probably less than adequate.

Two actions are recommended for strengthening gang control program coordination. First, responsibility for coordinating gang control should be centralized in one unit. Each department must make its own choice concerning the unit to be invested with such authority, how much authority to place in the unit, and the activities for

which the unit will have authority. The unit's main task would be activity coordination so all units involved in gang programming can conscientiously function in a mutually reinforcing manner. Second, departments that currently have gang control programs without written policies and procedures should develop and implement them. While most agencies have personnel capable of preparing policies and procedures, few have personnel who are prepared to develop gang control policies and procedures. Police departments in Phoenix, New York, Philadelphia, and Hayward, California reported having written policies and procedures. Agencies interested in reviewing models of policy and procedure development can contact these departments.

Training

Gang specialists and non-specialists must master important concepts to function properly. These cannot be conveyed well on-the-job, but are taught most effectively in formal training settings. Important training issues include the nature, structure, and history of gangs, departmental goals and policies, and useful strategies for prevention and control of youth gang problems. Subjects of interest and relevance to gang control personnel often emerge more freely in formal training settings (which are less threatening than on-the-job situations), perhaps because free exchange is encouraged and often rewarded.

Gang control personnel in 17 of 27 departments have not had formal gang control training. If these officers have not been trained, it is a virtual certainty that members of other units that share the gang control function are untrained as well. Agencies that currently do not provide training for those involved in gang control programs, or that only provide occasional opportunities, should take steps to alter the situation. Without formal training, officers and their superiors must discuss concepts, policies, and individual needs on-the-job, an approach usually viewed in the police world as an adjunct to and continuation of formal training--not a substitute for it. It is essential that gang units, gang details, and all other personnel who deal with youth gangs (i.e., patrol officers, investigators, youth officers, and community relations personnel) receive training.

Two problems may hamper efforts of police agencies to implement training programs. First, departments have limited funding resources for training. Most agencies are expected to accept the recommendation to train all personnel who deal with youth gangs, yet many cannot afford broad-based training programs. Cost limitations can be circumvented by adopting a technique several agencies use to maximize training investments. This method involves sending one or two individuals to available training courses; those individuals then return to their own departments and train personnel. In order to conduct in-house training, a course must be developed. Therefore, departments considering this strategy should send both program members and instructors to training courses. The instructors could then develop more effective in-service courses. Systematic evaluations of this technique for dealing with funding limitations have not been conducted. Second, gang control training technology is not readily available to police departments. Very few public or private organizations offer gang training courses. The present survey revealed only a few training courses. Model curricula, participant work materials, audio and visual presentation materials, and other staples of the training business are either scarce or unavailable. This technology gap notwithstanding, most agencies have no alternative for the immediate future but to develop and deliver their own training.

Evaluation

The ability to measure program effectiveness, defined as the degree to which program goals and objectives are achieved successfully, is the paramount requirement for managing and improving any police program. In addition to demonstrating the degree to which programs are successful or unsuccessful, measuring effectiveness enables police executives to perform a wide range of critical management functions in a systematic, formal manner. Critical management functions include evaluating the impact of new programs, allocating new resources, trading off current resources, and budgeting. Failure to measure the degree to which goals and objectives are achieved precludes insightful and, in some cases, even minimally effective conduct of these functions.

Circumstantial evidence suggests police agencies are unable to measure gang control program effectiveness, although this has not been demonstrated conclusively. Few departments were able to respond authoritatively to effectiveness queries, and none of the departments surveyed had quantitative success indicators available. Few of the departments gave evidence of having program objectives--one of the tools or prerequisites for measurement (refer to discussion in Chapter 2).

Police departments that are unprepared to adequately measure effectiveness should rectify the situation. Departments should begin developing the systems and information needed to gauge their total program effectiveness, and of the individual strategies that are employed within it. Departmental efforts will be impaired, again, by a shortage of readily available technology and funding. In addition to the development of measurable objectives and reliable standards, evaluation efforts should concentrate on (1) acquainting police departments with the standards, and (2) the types of information necessary to implement them. Few of these tools are available now. Neither the telephone survey nor the literature yielded much that is of use for measuring effectiveness. Goals and objectives must be developed prior to developing evaluation tools.

IMPROVING EFFECTIVENESS OF POLICE GANG CONTROL PROGRAMS

Information regarding current gang control program effectiveness is not available. A substantial amount of formal evaluation must be undertaken before conclusions about program effectiveness can be drawn; the survey results suggest that work on these issues is currently nonexistent. The absence of effectiveness information is not a sufficient reason for police to remain programmatically inactive. Although police managers may find it easy to employ familiar programs and strategies, they should look for strategies that promise to improve effectiveness. In cities experiencing youth gang activity, police should aggressively seek out and implement actions they believe (through logic and experience) likely to prevent and control youth gang problems.

Successful achievement of gang control goals and objectives can be improved in two ways, both of which should be addressed by police departments. First, current programs and strategies can be conducted more efficiently through improved communication and evaluation procedures. Second, effectiveness can be improved through innovation; departments can employ new strategies, or significantly revise current strategies (e.g., apply new or current methods to different gang members). Innovations need not be programmatic nor bound by the limits of the police function; improvement efforts should be aimed at establishing new laws and influencing the

functioning of other criminal justice system institutions. Again, the recommendation that departments execute actions improving the effectiveness of prevention and control of gang problems is much easier than the actual implementation. Insufficient technology threatens the improvement of program effectiveness.

Most departments are unprepared to determine productive performance. Therefore, the Center for the Assessment of the Juvenile Justice System assembled supplemental information from the literature and the survey. The data gathered provide information about (1) actions gang control personnel would ultimately desire taking to improve prevention and control of gang problems (presented below), (2) improvement recommendations formulated by two task forces that recently studied youth and gang problems (presented in Appendix E), and (3) summaries of government-funded projects designed to respond to gang problems (presented in Appendix E). Departments may choose to emulate the projects described, adopt core ideas to develop their own programs, or use the information to stimulate their own thinking and planning process.

The improvement possibilities presented below should be valuable to both city police departments with youth gang problems and gang control programs, as well as those without youth gang problems. Some recommendations and projects are police department-specific and can be implemented by police agencies themselves, and others are not police department-specific and cannot be implemented without the cooperation of other institutions and agencies. Implementation of actions in this class of recommendations are among the most powerful presented. The reader is cautioned to recognize that, with few exceptions, improvement possibilities have not been systematically evaluated, and many have not been put into practice. Thus, the Center for the Assessment of the Juvenile Justice System does not endorse them. Most, however, do have the implicit or explicit endorsement of various practitioners and study groups.

Proposals of Gang Control Personnel

Gang control personnel surveyed suggested many actions they would ultimately take to prevent and control gang problems were they provided sufficient resources and opportunities to do so. These actions are described below. The actions, a rather eclectic mixture, reflect the experience and intuition of those interviewed and probably represent the "collective wisdom" of gang control specialists with whom the respondents work and discuss gang problems. It is important to recognize, in most cases, recommendations have not emerged from systematic and formally administered evaluation. These recommendations have been placed into three categories: capacity building, mobilizing community and social service resources, and "gang-breaking."

Capacity building--Capacity building refers to a set of proposed actions that would augment "in-house" capability of police to deal with gangs. Specialists would establish or add personnel to gang units and details, introduce or augment training programs, evaluate current programmatic responses, and strengthen capabilities through miscellaneous actions such as research on the nature of gangs, improved intelligence gathering, and increased use of informants.

Establishing or supplementing the staff of gang details and units was the action proposed most often; 15 of the 27 departments (one department unclassifiable) called for manpower increments. Many respondents detailed the type and use of needed personnel: "establish a small unit or [make] men responsible for monitoring their [gang] activities"; "establish crisis intervention teams like Philadelphia's"; "double [the size of the] gang unit--get females"; "[get a] counselor for kids";

"expand programs to all schools"; "get an analyst to get a handle on how to measure success and failure of programs and develop new programs, too"; "establish education teams in every junior high and high school"; "establish a team crisis intervention unit"; "get a civilian coordinator to keep police and community activities going well." Other respondents did not provide specific ideas, restricting responses to comments such as: "get more men"; "form a specific gang unit to deal with youth gangs"; "add two full-time officers to work on gangs."

Four respondents cited the need for training. Training recommendations included comments such as: "build training programs to train personnel to deal with youth gangs"; "[have] more training and seminars"; "[have] joint training for police and criminal justice personnel--teach nature of gang problems and how agencies can work together to get a regional thrust going." Only one respondent commented on additional training content. Two respondents noted the advisability of training personnel throughout the department, rather than limiting training to gang unit and youth division personnel. Respondents in three of the 27 departments proposed research to determine the causes of gang formation and/or to evaluate program results. One respondent cited the need for "a concentrated effort to find causes of their [gangs] formation and ways to divert their energy." Another respondent cited the need for measuring program success and failure for improving current programs and developing new programs. The third respondent stated, "we know very little about gangs...," commenting on the necessity to "get to the heart of how gangs operate."

Mobilizing community and social service resources--Mobilizing community resources refers to a set of proposed actions directed toward concentrating existing, often unexploited resources more directly on gangs and acquiring new resources to combat gang problems. These include family and community involvement (e.g., churches and social service programs that provide job training, jobs, and recreational opportunities). Respondents from 13 of the 27 departments proposed greater community involvement and/or expanded social services. Gang control personnel in these departments advocated that community members or neighborhood organizations and school faculty be informed about the nature of gangs, the gang problem, how to recognize gang members, how to help gang members, and how to help police cope with gangs. They also suggested mobilizing community and social service resources through: increasing cooperation among police, parents, and neighborhood groups; forming parent councils; setting up clearer liaison with boards of education; placing education teams in all junior high and high schools; establishing hot lines so that worried citizens could call the police with information about gangs; and developing programs to increase public awareness about gangs.

Seven departments' respondents cited the importance of expanding opportunities for youth to gain job skills, become employed, participate in recreational activities, and to gain access to currently available social programs. The following comments represent this category of proposals: "set up job training with trade unions--provide real skills for real jobs--forget about finishing high school"; "our department should do nothing more--the answer lies in building better social programs"; "more manpower for more counseling as opposed to strict investigation and apprehension"; "fund job training"; "get a youth leadership position to work with youths in housing projects--get activities for kids--need a structured recreation program"; "channel energy of gang members into something more constructive."

Gang-breaking--Four of the 27 departments' respondents advocated "gang-breaking" as an effective way to cope with youth gangs. Though the label "gang-breaking" initially creates expectations of the most militaristic responses of which police are capable, the concept provides an opportunity for prevention, redirection of problem youth, and roles for other societal elements which influence youth gang and youth gang member behavior. "Gang-breaking" has been suggested by only a few practitioners. It has not been subjected to systematic review and scrutiny either by practitioners or the research community; nevertheless, the concept stands out as the most coherent and intrinsically realistic basis for programming discovered during the survey. The strategy can serve not only as a mechanism for improving gang program effectiveness, but as a philosophical basis for the design and execution of future gang control programs (i.e., a framework for planning, selecting, and integrating strategies and tactics for the control of youth gangs).

There are four elements to the "gang-breaking" concept: (1) prevention of youth gang crime, (2) redirection of gangs members if prevention fails, (3) imposition of strict sanctions on leaders and hardcore youth gang members, and (4) evaluation of the effectiveness of all programs directed at prevention and control of youth gangs. Maximum community resource mobilization is an implied element of the concept. These four elements of the "gang-breaking" concept are discussed below and illustrated in Figure 1 (p. 45).

Prevention strategies

Prevention, a community endeavor with social service agencies, police, community, and private sector interaction, is believed the best approach for controlling youth gang crime. This role is reflected in Box 1 of Figure 1. The community's social service system, with any assistance it receives from citizen and private sector organizations, is responsible for treating conditions assumed to breed criminality in young people--poverty, inadequate housing, poor health, inadequate health care, unemployment, and inadequate education. These social service programs are not targeted directly toward gang members, but are administered broadly and for the welfare of all.

A strong police department prevention program should augment and operate within the framework of community prevention services. The police program should comprise strategies with services oriented in three directions: general services for youths and adults; services for youths alone; and youth gang-specific strategies. General prevention services directed toward adults and youths can include those normally encompassed within the typical departmental crime prevention program: patrol--random or directed; community crime prevention techniques such as neighborhood watches and crime prevention education; and community relations programs. These prevention services are, as a rule, delivered by units other than those responsible for youth and gangs. Youth-oriented prevention services can include any or all of the strategies, techniques, and practices mentioned by survey respondents: recreation programs such as the Police Athletic League (PAL); establishing parent and neighborhood councils to work with youth and police; school liaison programs; and street counseling strategies. Prevention services targeted directly to gang members complete the repertoire of prevention services. These can include any or all of those actions mentioned by the respondents: having youth workers interact directly with gang leaders; having leaders of competing gangs talk and mediate problems; having police and gang leaders mediate problems; and "removing" gang leaders through arrest and prosecution. This latter recommendation is not only a control technique, but a preventive measure as well (i.e., police feel that removing leaders impairs the gang's

Figure 1

A GANG CONTROL PROGRAM CONCEPT

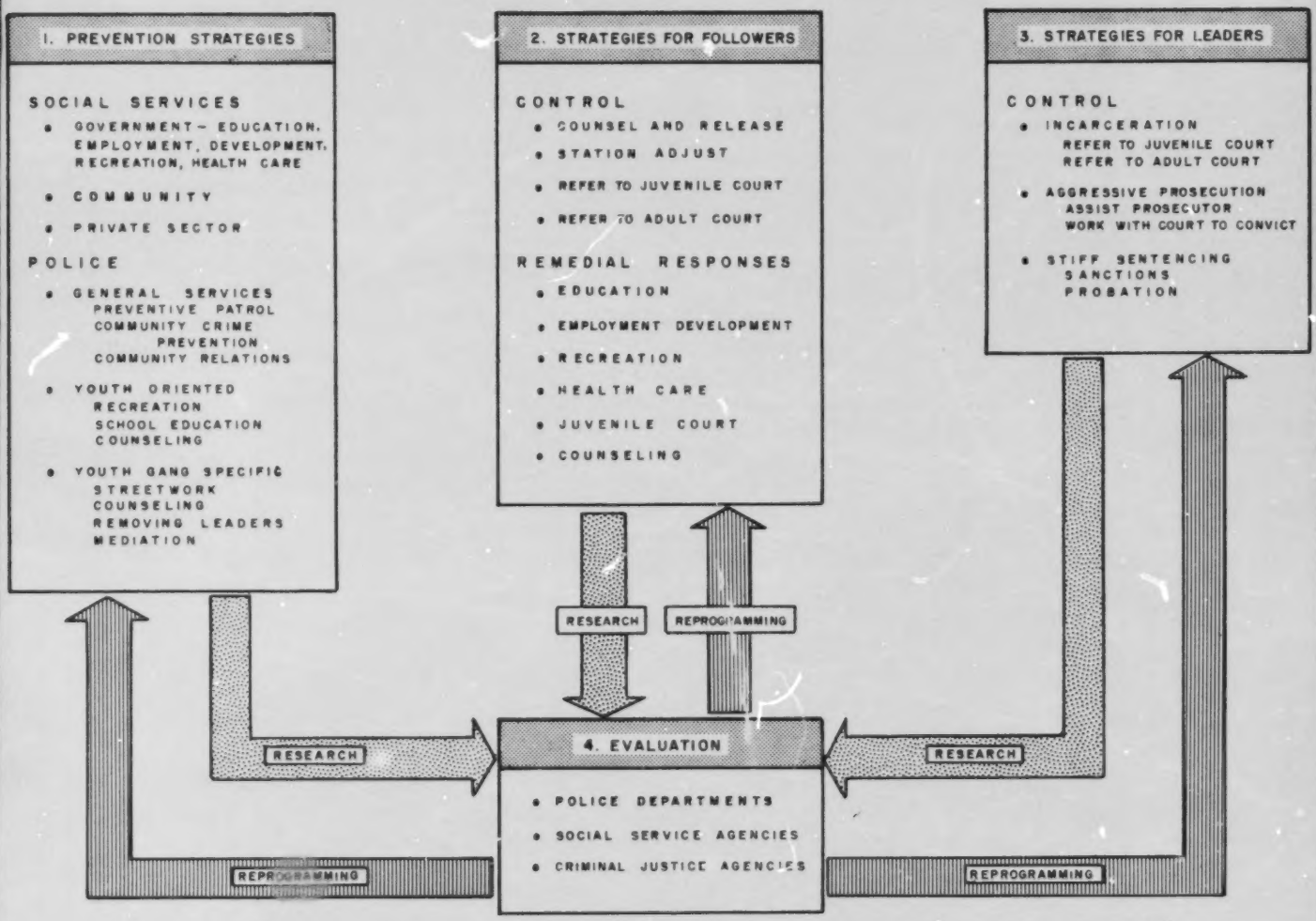

FIGURE CONSTRUCTED BY THE CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (SACRAMENTO, CALIF.: AMERICAN JUSTICE INSTITUTE, 1982).

functional ability, if only temporarily, and impresses members with the "vulnerability" of gangs).*

Strategies for followers

When prevention fails and crimes have been committed, police can identify those believed to be responsible for the crimes and apprehend them. A critical element of the "gang-breaking" concept comes into play once gang members have been apprehended. Gang members who have or are alleged to have committed criminal acts should be classified as followers or leaders. Those classified or known to be followers should be treated programmatically like all youth who become involved with police. As depicted in Box 2 of Figure 1, depending on the incident's nature and circumstances and the individual's history and characteristics, police should select the most suitable alternative--counsel and release, or informal adjustment at the station. Followers who are counseled and released and station adjusted should be diverted in many instances (i.e., encouraged or required to participate in remedial social service programs administered by the social service agencies of a community and/or by the police department). These actions are consistent with the traditional public and police intent to rehabilitate or protect youth involved with the justice system. Should the gang member in question be beyond the legal juvenile age, an entirely different set of dispositional alternatives begins that references the criminal justice system.

Strategies for leaders

Gang leaders or hardcore members require special programmatic handling. These special control strategies are illustrated in Box 3 of Figure 1. Gang leaders or hardcore members who violate the law and are of legal juvenile age are referred to juvenile court, and those beyond the legal juvenile age are prosecuted in adult court. Prosecutors and judges in either jurisdiction have obligations in this conceptual scheme. Prosecutors are expected to gain convictions. Judges and probation officers are expected to recommend and impose stiff sanctions, including prison terms when possible and appropriate. Other options should be selected when appropriate, but emphasis should be on punishment and incapacitation rather than on redirection and release. Police are expected to do all they can to help prosecute successfully and to convince the court that incarceration is in order. Survey respondents, however, did not volunteer information about how aggressive and proactive police should be in eliminating leaders from gangs or on the legal techniques useful for so doing.

Evaluation

The final element of the "gang-breaking" concept is evaluation (see Box 4 of Figure 1). Evaluation can be comprehensive and encompass all programming administered by all agencies. Police departments can evaluate the effectiveness of both prevention and control strategies. Social service agencies can evaluate the effectiveness of their prevention and remedial programs. In addition to evaluating existing programs, agencies can use the evaluation results to direct efforts toward research and reprogramming. The present survey did not uncover any systematic or methodologically sound evaluation strategies.

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*Please refer to Chapter 2, Table 12 (pp. 31-32), Successful and Unsuccessful Gang Control Practices, for a more complete list of youth-oriented and gang-specific prevention services recommended by respondents.

Chapter 4

A SUGGESTED YOUTH GANG CONTROL PROGRAM

THIS SURVEY indicates police are attempting to prevent and control youth gang problems in a system characterized by substantial fragmentation. This is the result of the myriad of public, private, and law enforcement agencies' association with youth gangs and youth gang members. Although many agencies influence gang members, no organization is "in charge" of gang programming--none are accountable for effective prevention and control of youth gangs and youth gang crime. The data on interagency relationships (Chapter 2) suggest most agencies function independently and without formal communication.

The consequences of fragmentation and absence of accountability have not been subject to systematic inquiry. However, they are probably similar to those of other programming areas studied (i.e., police and other agencies working with gang members are often at cross-purposes because of general inconsistency and lack of coordination). Where this is the case, the organizational and financial resources committed to prevention and control of gangs are poorly invested. Often, jurisdictional resources are not being applied productively. Perhaps worse, the gang member becomes frustrated and angered by the barrage of inconsistent advice, guidance, and direction. Fragmentation impairs effectiveness.

Police should be able to prevent and control gang problems in an environment where all agencies involved in the gang control function have clearly delineated roles. A program, formulated by the Center for the Asessment of the Juvenile Justice System, is outlined below. A Comprehensive Community Gang Control Program is a departure from the currently dominant style of gang control program organization, but not a dramatic one. Agencies that wish to strengthen or create new gang control programs may consider this an alternate approach. Whether the Comprehensive Community Gang Control Program can actually produce better results than current programs is not known. The outlined program suggests methods that departments and agencies may use to effectively measure the success or failure of their gang control strategies.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY GANG CONTROL PROGRAM

A Comprehensive Community Gang Control Program is a structural approach designed to direct the activities of all organizations devoted to prevention and control of gang violence toward common goals without materially impairing the autonomy of participating agencies. Every organization concerned with the welfare of gang members or potential gang members, or able to influence their behavior, should be involved in the program. Countywide organization is considered preferable since it enables county and municipal agencies and institutions to participate. Police agencies in cities where gang problems are centered should take part in the program. Participation of social service agencies, prosecutors, judges, probation and parole agencies is also mandatory for effective program function.

Each community's key policy and administrative officials can organize the program to reflect the community's serious commitment to managing its gang problems. The

program should be given formal status. It should be governed by representatives from the participating agencies. Public members and other governmental agencies can be added to the board if deemed essential. A budget and a staff should be provided.

Though variations will occur among communities, the governing body and its staff can perform a series of operations designed to overcome the two major programming flaws of fragmentation and absence of fixed responsibility. These operations are:

- Determine the extent of a community's gang problem: determine how many gangs there are, how many members are in the gangs, and the criminal history of gangs and gang members.

- Analyze the gang population: describe the economic, social, health, educational, ethnic, sex, and age characteristics of members.

- Establish objectives: define what the community and each agency should strive to accomplish with respect to the behavior of gangs and gang members.

- Formulate programmatic responses: identify strategies that participating agencies should administer both individually and cooperatively to achieve the objectives set forth.

- Mobilize the necessary resources to employ the strategies selected: assemble from existing governmental agencies, the community, and the private sector resources and services required to administer the strategies selected.

- Evaluate program results: gather, process, and interpret the data required to determine whether program strategies are producing desired program results.

- Training program participants: develop and administer training programs for personnel of all participating agencies. Programs should cover the nature of Comprehensive Community Gang Control Programs, the roles of participants in them, and substantive matters pertaining to prevention and control of gang crime.

The very act of establishing a Comprehensive Community Gang Control Program will be a major step toward unifying the many agencies that now administer gang programming independently. Establishing objectives, identifying strategies, coordinating current programs, and mobilizing community resources will further eliminate fragmentation. Accountability will be clarified by setting specific goals, formulating programs, and implementing evaluation procedures.

The Comprehensive Community Gang Control Program structure may transcend its expected value for gang control. Such a program could become a mechanism to integrate a community's juvenile justice system and provide a forum for addressing and implementing recommendations of study groups, task forces, and agencies concerned with juvenile justice planning.

THE POLICE ROLE IN ESTABLISHING COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY GANG CONTROL PROGRAMS

There is reason to expect police to react favorably, if cautiously, to the Comprehensive Community Gang Control Program concept. This optimistic expectation is rooted in the belief that many practitioners are not only persuaded of the value and need for integrated community programming, but have already begun to establish integrated programs.

Many of the gang control personnel who were surveyed underscored the need for more integrated organizations of gang control programming and resources. Those who called for "greater liaison with the Board of Education" and an intensified "attack on social causes of problems," those who noted that the solution lies in "more social programming," and the entire cadre of individuals who called for greater mobilization of community resources seem to be calling for more effective mobilization and integration of community resources and programs, if only implicitly. As Chapter 2 indicates, at least five groups have actually established integrated agency programs: Operation Safe Streets involving joint law enforcement, prosecutorial, and probation agency efforts; the Probation and Police Suppression of Youth Gang Activity Project developing more productive police-probation department relationships; the Juvenile Gang Reduction Specialist Project coordinating more effective police and juvenile court action on gangs; the Los Angeles County Inter-Agency Task Force on Gang Violence coordinating law enforcement, probation, district attorney, parole, community, and school agency efforts to reduce gang violence; and Philadelphia's Crisis Intervention Network teaming civilian and government officials in the fight against gang violence. These actions not only substantiate the favorable disposition of the police and the rest of the criminal justice community toward integrated programming, but also point to the formation of such programs. Thus, comprehensive community programming represents less a dramatic departure from the current programming style than a mechanism for accelerating a movement that has already begun. The favorable disposition of police toward this movement places them in a prime position to exert leadership in the development of Comprehensive Community Gang Control Programs. Police are urged to assume such leadership positions since other agencies are expected to respond favorably to these initiatives.

CONCLUSIONS

Work completed to date enables us to recommend a number of ways in which police, the governments they serve, and the communities in which they function might improve their responses to youth gangs and youth gang problems. Management of police gang control programs, determination of their effectiveness, and current gang control delivery systems are three areas where improvements are possible. The following points are suggested for consideration:

- Coordination, training, and evaluation are three aspects of program management subject to improvement. Better coordination of the currently diffused gang control function can be achieved by centralizing responsibility for the entire function in one unit and developing written policies and procedures.

- Agencies currently providing little or no training to gang control personnel are urged to take corrective actions. It is essential that personnel of gang units, gang details, and all other personnel who deal with gangs receive adequate amounts and appropriate kinds of training.

- The most critical managerial improvement needed is in the area of evaluation. Agencies must take immediate steps to develop the systems and the information needed to gauge the overall effectiveness of gang control programs and the individual strategies comprised within them.

- How effective current gang control programs are is not known since, as far as can be determined, few evaluation efforts are underway. These conditions should not cause police managers to refrain from seeking ways to improve program effectiveness. Police in cities plagued with gang problems should aggressively seek out and implement actions that logic and experience suggest are likely to prevent and control gang problems more effectively.

  Effectiveness can be improved in two ways. First, current programs and strategies can be conducted more efficiently. Second, new strategies can be employed, current strategies can be significantly revised, and different combinations of strategies can be applied. Agencies should consider both methods.

- Four collections of possible actions and innovations were either produced or discovered during the survey that agencies seeking to improve effectiveness can consider. The collections comprise actions that gang control personnel would take to improve effectiveness, recommendations of the Youth Gang Task Force established by the Attorney General of the State of California (1981), and recommendations of the U.S. Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime (1981). Finally, agencies can consider the ideas, themes, and strategies encompassed by 17 gang control action projects identified during research.

- The system in which police strive to prevent and control gang problems is fragmented and lacking accountability. Many agencies work with the behavior of gangs and gang members; however, none of them are "in charge." The most probable consequence of this situation is police and other agencies that deal with gangs fail to work in consistent directions or work at cross-purposes. This, in turn, results in failure to maximize a community's gang control resources.

- To improve the situation, police are urged to enter into the lead development of Comprehensive Community Gang Control Programs--programs designed to direct the activities of all organizations devoted to prevention and control of gang violence toward common goals, without materially impairing the autonomy of the participating agencies.

APPENDIX A

CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

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APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX D

METHODOLOGY

This study's purpose, established by the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, was to synthesize research on police handling of youth gangs in major American cities and to identify promising programs and strategies that might be used by law enforcement departments nationwide. Two principal investigation methods were used: a comprehensive literature review on police handling of youth gangs, and a telephone survey of a representative sample of gang control and youth specialists from police departments nationwide.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review included books, articles, government reports, and unpublished manuscripts on police handling of youth gangs. The literature revealed numerous articles on gang behavior from a sociological perspective dealing with gang etiology and descriptions of the subcultural norms and values. Little material was found focusing on gangs from a police orientation. The works of Miller (1975, 1980, 1981), Klein (1967, 1970), and the Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force (1981) provided important, relevant information. However, many critical issues with regard to police handling of gangs remain to be addressed. Given the dearth of available material, a survey was utilized to generate the information needed to fulfill the report's mandate.

SAMPLING DESIGN

Studies by Miller (1981) indicate youth gangs are no longer unique to large cities. Thus, all cities having a population of 100,000 or above were considered for sampling. Using 1979 FBI Uniform Crime Reports, it was determined that 168 cities met this initial criterion (Webster, 1980). A multi-stage sampling procedure was implemented using U.S. Bureau of Census population groupings and geo-pilot data on the numbers of youth gangs and the variety of methods of police handling. It was not designed to be all encompassing and provided only general trends and guidelines. Questions were open-ended and the entire survey took an average of 25-30 minutes to complete. Instrument pre-testing was done on two California police departments not included in the actual sample. A copy of the questionnaire follows.

TELEPHONE INTERVIEW PROCEDURES

Interviews were conducted from August 17 through September 20, 1981 by three interviewers. The respondents were chosen by the chiefs of police as the most qualified and knowledgeable persons about youth gangs. The respondents are referred to in this report as youth gang personnel. Probe questions were liberally used to gather as much relevant data as possible. Those cities not initially responding to the mail-out packet were contacted by telephone to solicit their participation.

SAMPLE FULFILLMENT

A total of 60 cities (76.9 percent) completed the survey. Nineteen of the 23 Miller cities responded (82.6 percent). Table A-2 (below) presents the breakdown of the sample fulfillment for the entire 78 cities sampled. Percentages are based on the original sampling frame found in Table A-1 (below).

Table A-1

SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION OF CITIES

GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPS	POPULATION GROUPS				TOTALS
	100,000-249,000	250,000-499,000	500,000-999,000	1,000,000+	
WEST	11	3	3	1	18
SOUTH	15	6	6	1	28
NORTH EAST	7	3	2	2	14
NORTH CENTRAL	10	4	2	2	18
TOTALS	43	16	13	6	N=78

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

Table A-2

SAMPLE FULFILLMENT OF CITIES

GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPS	POPULATION GROUPS				TOTALS
	100,000-249,000	250,000-499,000	500,000-999,000	1,000,000+	
WEST	9 (81.8%)*	3 (100.0%)	3 (100.0%)	1 (100.0%)	16 (89.4%)
SOUTH	9 (60.0%)	4 (66.7%)	6 (100.0%)	1 (100.0%)	20 (71.4%)
NORTH EAST	4 (57.1%)	2 (66.7%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (100.0%)	8 (57.1%)
NORTH CENTRAL	8 (80.0%)	4 (100.0%)	2 (100.0%)	2 (100.0%)	16 (89.4%)
TOTALS	30 (69.8%)	13 (81.3%)	11 (84.6%)	6 (100.0%)	N=60 (76.9%)

*Percentages represent the portion of the total number of cities sampled that responded to the survey.

Table constructed by the CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM (Sacramento, Calif.: American Justice Institute, 1982).

CENTER FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

POLICE HANDLING OF YOUTH GANGS

FACT SHEET

CITY _____ STATE _____

INTERVIEWER _____ DATE _____

RESPONDENT _____ TIME _____ _____
(Start) (Finish)

RESPONDENT'S TITLE or RANK _____

RESPONDENT'S UNIT or DIVISION _____

TELEPHONE NUMBER ( ) _____

APPOINTMENTS WITH	DATE	TIME	OUTCOME

OUTCOME CODES:
- C = Complete
- R = Refused
- T = Terminated during interview
- NA = No answer
- B = Busy
- NW = Not working
- CB = Request to call back
- WN = Wrong number
- O = Other

For Coding Use Only:

	Date	Initials
Edited	_____	_____
Coded	_____	_____
Verified and Filed	_____	_____

SECTION I. DEFINITIONS

1. Do you have youth gangs in your community or jurisdiction?

Yes _____ (Go to Question 2.)

No _____

1a. Do you have youth groups in your community?

Yes _____ No _____ (PROBE)

1b. How does your department define a youth gang?

1c. Are these groups a problem in your police jurisdiction?

Yes _____ (Go to Question 2.) No _____

1d. Have you had any problems in the past with youth gangs?

Yes _____ PROBE (If in recent past, go to Question 2.)

No _____

1e. Have you had any gang activity originating from outside your community?

Yes _____ (Go to Question 2.)

No _____ End of interview

2. How does your department define a youth gang?

(OBTAIN OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE--THEN PROBE FOR THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION)

2a. Does your department distinguish between youth gangs and youth groups?

If so, how? Can you give us some examples?

2b. Are gangs distinguished by sex, race, age, or other characteristics?

(ASK RESPONDENT TO EXPLAIN AND GIVE EXAMPLES. PROBE FOR OTHER CHARACTERISTICS THAT DEFINE GANGS.)

2c. How many gangs are there of each type in your jurisdiction?

2d. Does your department have a document or written materials defining youth gangs?

2e. Can you send us a copy of these materials?

3. About how many individuals (your estimate) are in a youth gang in your city?

   3a. Average size _____

   3b. Range: Smallest _____ (Number)
   Largest _____ (Number)

4. Does your department keep a record of gang memberships?

   (PROBE: HOW IS THIS DONE? ASK FOR REPORTING METHODS)

   Yes _____ No _____

5. Does your department compile records on youth gang criminal activity?

   Yes _____(PROBE: HOW?) No _____ (Go to Question 7.)

6. Can you send us a report or a sample of your recordkeeping procedures?

_____

_____

SECTION II. THE PROBLEM

7. Are youth gangs a problem in your jurisdiction? _____

   7a. Yes _____ PROBE: MAJOR PROBLEM?
   MODERATE PROBLEM?
   MINOR PROBLEM?

   No _____ (Go to Question 12.)

8. What kinds of problems do youth gangs cause?

   (PROBE: ASK RESPONDENT FOR EXAMPLES AND TRY TO RANK PROBLEMS IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE TO POLICE DEPARTMENT--MOST IMPORTANT FIRST, LEAST IMPORTANT LAST)

9. Can you estimate the percent of total crime in your jurisdiction that is caused by youth gangs?

(PROBE FOR PERCENTAGE FIGURE TO THE NEAREST 5 PERCENT)

10. Can you estimate the percent of total juvenile crime caused by youth gangs?

(PROBE FOR PERCENTAGE FIGURE TO THE NEAREST 5 PERCENT)

11. Has gang activity become more/about the same/less violent in recent years?

(ASK RESPONDENT TO ELABORATE WITH EXAMPLES)

SECTION III. POLICE DEPARTMENT ORGANIZATION

12. Does your police department have a youth gang unit?

Yes _____ No _____ (Go to Question 15.)

12a. Is this an independent unit?

12b. How is this unit structured in your police department? (PROBE FOR PLACEMENT OF UNIT IN RELATION TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONAL FEATURES OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT. ASK RESPONDENT TO MAP THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE DEPARTMENT.)

12c. In dealing with youth gangs, does this unit exercise primary responsibility or is this responsibility shared with other units?

12d. If shared responsibility, with what departments or unit(s) is this responsibility shared? (SOLICIT EXAMPLES OF HOW IT IS SHARED)

13. How many officers are there in this unit?

Part-time _____ (Rank) Full-time _____ (Rank)

14. Do these officers receive special training?

Yes _____ No _____ (Go to Question 16.)

14a. What kinds of training do these officers receive for youth gang work?

(PROBE: SOLICIT EXAMPLES OF THE TYPES OF TRAINING)

How often do they receive training?

14b. Is this training accomplished in-house or is it done by outside agencies?

(PROBE: SOLICIT EXAMPLES OF WHO DOES THIS TRAINING)

15. How many persons in your police department? Total: _____

Sworn: _____ Civilian: _____

SECTION IV. SERVICES AND FUNDING

16. Does your department have programs or services specifically aimed at youth gangs or youth gang members?

Yes _____ No _____ (Go to Question 20.)

16a. What are these programs or services?

(PROBE: HAVE RESPONDENTS DESCRIBE THE TYPES OF PROGRAMS OR SERVICES OFFERED)

17. How much of your departmental budget is spent on special programs directed to youth gangs?

18. Does your department receive special outside funding for these programs or services? (PROBE)

Yes _____ No _____ (Go to Question 20.)

18a. How are these programs funded? By whom?

(PROBE: ELICIT FUNDING SOURCES)

18b. What is the level of funding that these programs receive?

(PROBE: TRY TO GET AN IDEA OF THE AMOUNT OF FUNDING AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL POLICE DEPARTMENT BUDGET)

19. Given the opportunity and reosurces, what would your department like to do to improve gang control programs?

_____

_____

SECTION V. GOALS, OBJECTIVES, POLICIES

20. What has your department done that you feel has been particularly successful in dealing with youth gangs?

Unsuccessful?

(PROBE: SOLICIT EXAMPLES FROM RESPONDENTS OF PARTICULARLY SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES OR PROGRAMS AS WELL AS UNSUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS. WHY WERE THEY EITHER SUCCESSFUL OR UNSUCCESSFUL?)

(INCLUDE PROBES ON TYPES OF POLICE ACTIVITY USED--PATROL, ETC.)

21. Does your department conduct activities with any other organizations or agencies that deal with youth gang problems (e.g., PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, COORDINATION OF SERVICE EFFORTS, ETC.)?

Yes _____ No _____ (Go to Question 22.)

21a. Could you describe some of these planning activities or coordination efforts?

(PROBE: SOLICIT AN ORGANIZATIONAL PICTURE OF THE ROLE THAT A POLICE DEPARTMENT PLAYS IN GANG SERVICES)

21b. What are the purposes of the programs?

22. Does your department have a written policy concerning gangs and gang activity?

Yes _____ No _____ (End interview)

22a. Can you send us a copy?

APPENDIX E

TASK FORCE RECOMMENDATIONS

THIS APPENDIX explores two task force reports' recommendations addressing youth gang problems. It also presents a brief description of 17 projects that are, or have been, targeted to the prevention and control of youth gang crime.

U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL'S TASK FORCE ON VIOLENT CRIME (August 17, 1981)

This report stated that, in 1979, juveniles accounted "...for about 20 percent of all violent crimes, 44 percent of all serious property crime arrests, and 39 percent of overall serious crime arrests" (p. 81). On page 84 of the Task Force Report, special attention was given to youth gang problems. The report's commentary is reproduced along with "Recommendation 60" (footnotes deleted).

Recommendation 60

The Attorney General, where appropriate, should expand the use of federal investigative and prosecutorial resources now directed against traditional organized crime activities to the serious criminal activities of youthful street gangs now operating in metropolitan areas of the country.

Commentary

The most prevalent context of serious and violent juvenile criminality is what has been described as "law-violating groups." It is estimated these disruptive youth groups involve perhaps up to 20 percent of eligible boys in cities of over 10,000 population and that about 71 percent of all serious crimes by youths are the product of law-violating groups. In addition to loosely-formed law-violating groups, there are about 2,200 gangs with 96,000 members located in approximately 300 U.S. cities and towns. Killings play a major role in the criminal activities of gangs. In 60 of these cities alone, approximately 3,400 gang-related homicides were recorded during the period 1967-1980.

In public testimony given by a former youth gang member and others, we frequently heard gang activities described in terms of an organized crime effort. Many youth gangs operate across state lines to facilitate, for example, the interstate transportation of narcotics or weapons for use by gang members. Often youth gangs are modeled after traditional organized crime operations and as a result become involved in a full range of illegal activities associated with them. Law enforcement officials, however, have typically dealt with gangs in terms associated with "juvenile delinquency." Thus, the federal law enforcement apparatus has tended to view gangs as state and local problems. We can no longer afford to do this, as it has become increasingly clear that the level of gang activities involving violent crime and drug-related offenses is enormous, the similarity between gangs and organized crime is undeniable, and much gang activity can and should itself be characterized as organized crime. In recognition of these facts, we urge the Attorney General to take those steps necessary to ensure that federal law enforcement and prosecutorial

agencies will be able to effectively investigate and prosecute serious organized youth gang activities. (Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime, 1981:84.)

STATE OF CALIFORNIA: ATTORNEY GENERAL'S YOUTH GANG TASK FORCE (1981)

The State of California occupies a unique place in the Nation's gang picture. It holds the dubious distinction, according to one national authority, of having the greatest number of gangs, the greatest number of gang members, and the highest incidence of gang violence, including homicides (Miller, 1981). Therefore, it is not surprising that the Attorney General of California established a task force "to gain a statewide perspective on the problem." The Youth Gang Task Force examined the current extent of the State's youth gang problem, the nature of the criminal activities occurring, the agencies' resource commitment to deal with the problem, and the nature and extent of the proactive efforts being taken to counter youth gang activity. The Youth Gang Task Force produced several products including guidelines assisting administrators in establishing youth gang programs, a summary of violence prevention and diversion programs employed by criminal justice organizations, and of greatest importance to this report, recommendations producing more effective community response. The Youth Gang Task Force's recommendations are represented below in the three categories outlined in the Task Force Report: community programs, the criminal justice system, and the legislature. The categories represent the elements of government and community that must take action to deal with youth gang violence.

The recommendations in the Community Programs category are:

1. A public awareness program to alert the community that a youth gang violence problem exists and to gather community support.

2. A family counseling program to teach skills which can be used by parents to identify youth gang affiliation and to divert children from gang involvement.

3. A training program for school administrators and teachers to assist them in identifying gangs operating within their school, recognizing gang characteristics, and coping with gang behavior.

4. A crisis intervention program to gather and disseminate youth gang information, provide rumor control, and to provide hot-line referral services in dealing with gang problems.

5. A job counseling service to assist youth gang members in developing job skills which will allow them to function in gainful employment situations.

6. Development of a liaison program to encourage local businesses to provide employment to youths in the community.

7. Programs to recruit local youths for participation in community service projects such as eradicating graffiti.

8. A recreational program to assist in diverting youths from violent gang activity. (Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981:7,8.)

The recommendations in the Criminal Justice Programs category are:

1. The California Department of Justice, through its Advanced Training Center, develop and implement a training program for California law enforcement personnel on the characteristics of youth gangs, their violence, and investigative approaches to crimes committed by youth gangs. This training should be supported by POST funding.

2. A list of law enforcement personnel considered expert in recognizing and investigating youth gang violence be developed and maintained by the Department of Justice. This list of experts would be used as a reference by the Department of Justice for referring agencies seeking advice on establishing gang units and/or gang information files.

3. Local law enforcement be provided with a copy of the Attorney General's Task Force Report on Youth Gang Violence and Guide to the Investigation and Prosecution of Youth Gang Violence.

4. Vertical prosecution is essential in isolating hard-core criminals and setting an example for youth gang members. Local law enforcement and prosecutors should be encouraged and assisted by the Department of Justice in developing a "vertical prosecution" program based on jurisdictional needs.

5. The Department of Justice develop and implement uniform crime reporting procedures for reporting youth gang crimes to the Bureau of Criminal Statistics.

6. The Attorney General's Legislative Unit establish a monitoring system for the purpose of reviewing, proposing, researching, and supporting legislation having an impact on youth gang violence and the investigation and prosecution of such violence.

7. In order to encourage the cooperation of threatened and reluctant witnesses, the Attorney General's Witness Protection Program be provided with a sufficient level of funding to ensure the successful prosecution of cases involving youth gang violence. (Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981:8.)

The recommendations in the Legislature category are:

1. Existing laws regarding the carrying of weapons should be amended as needed to provide for alternative felony/misdemeanor status.

   Penal Code Sections 12020, 12021.5, and 12031 are among the sections to which this recommendation is directed. The "drive-by" shooting has become more characteristic of gang violence than the "rumble" of a generation ago. Prevention of such occurrences could be better achieved by arming police officers with detention and arrest powers historically attendant to felony offenses. In addition, enhanced punishment or longer terms of probation should be available where the purpose of weapon concealment is factually connected to gang violence.

2. State laws should be enacted to permit the court to set bail not only to ensure the defendant's appearance, but also to protect the community at large.

6. Habitual offenders and the most violent offenders should be identified and sentenced to stiffer terms of incarceration. In those cases where deterrence of future acts is possible, it is hoped that widespread recognition of the sentencing parameters will assist in that regard. Where deterrence has not been accomplished, then severe punishment for the most extreme cases of violence is appropriate.

   It is consistent with the changes of purpose for the application of Penal Code provisions that repeat offenders or persons who inflict great bodily injury should be dealt with most harshly.

   Robbery with the use of deadly weapons should be reincorporated into the present statutory scheme for dangerous felonies.

   Part of the myth of gang violence is that only other gang members are victims of their violence. Robbery within the geographical area the gang has designated as its own is becoming more common as a means of demonstrating control of "turf."

7. The use of photographs for identification and apprehension of gang members should be allowed within constitutionally permissible boundaries.

   Photographs, mug books, and the like are of critical importance in the successful investigation of criminal activities. Where geographical boundaries alone give some clue to the identity of the perpetrators, as in street gang violence cases, gang books can quickly focus on suspects as an investigative tool.

8. The addition of gang investigation courses to POST required curriculum in the basic police academy training and also for advanced officer training would broaden the base of police expertise in investigation of cases involving gang violence.

9. More money should be available to local law enforcement agencies for the protection of the victim/witnesses in instances of violent crime.

   In no other type of prosecution is the fear of retaliation so widespread. In some instances, relocation of witnesses is the only safeguard from fear of gang retaliation. (Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981:9-11.)

Several of the Youth Gang Task Force's recommendations pertain to specific statutes and conditions of and in the State of California. However, the general thrust of these recommendations is easily interpretable and can clearly apply to other States.

GANG CONTROL PROJECTS

Seventeen projects embodying ideas that may be useful for more effective prevention and control of gang problems are summarized below. The projects listed are ones that are, or have been devoted to prevention and control of gang crime. Projects devoted to prevention and control of youth crime in general are not included, even though they may well encompass gang members. The projects' content is diverse, ranging from basic police suppression programs to one that employs gang members to

confront and resolve gang problems more successfully. Most contain combinations of suppression and prevention elements. Information on existence and nature of projects has been drawn from the Office of Justice Assistance Research and Statistics (U.S. Department of Justice, OJARS, 1981), the report of the California Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force (Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981), and from published literature. Because our search for gang control projects was constrained by both resource and time limitations, this listing is but a sampling. Further investigation would probably unearth additional material.

The reader is reminded that the effectiveness of these projects has not been tested. The Center for the Assessment of the Juvenile Justice System can neither endorse nor reject programs. Agencies that have conducted, or are conducting the projects will have to be contacted for appraisals of their worth. References are provided where possible to allow this to be done as conveniently as possible.

The following special gang control projects have been funded by OJARS:

- Project: **Community Access Team**
  (Derived from Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981:55)

  The major objectives of this project, located in Hayward, California, are to obtain employment and develop educational programs for youth gang members. The project helps participants develop good work habits, provides job and educational counseling, and monitors progress of program participants. A corollary function of the Community Access Team is to act as a liaison between youth gangs and the Hayward Police Department.

  Program objectives are to be met by establishing positive contacts with members of youth gangs to encourage their participation in employment and educational programs, developing employable skills, assisting participants to locate and function in gainful employment, directing juveniles and their families to the Youth and Family Service Bureau of Hayward, and by encouraging gang members to become active in community service projects.

  Hayward Police Department
  Community Access Team
  300 West Winton
  Hayward, CA 94544
  (415) 881-7004

- Project: **Crime Reduction Program for West Philadelphia**

  The goal of this demonstration project is the reduction of stranger-to-stranger crime, especially burglary and robbery, in West Philadelphia. During the 12-month life of the project, it is expected that burglary and robbery incidents will decrease substantially. The 63 veteran police officers funded by this project will be divided into a gang control team (16 men), a narcotics team (10 men), a truancy team (12 men), and a tactical unit team (25 men). These four teams are expected to reduce burglaries, robberies, and other stranger-to-stranger crimes by concentration of patrol and utilization of resources and special techniques. Police recruits will be hired to replace the veteran officers assigned to this project. LEAA funding is allocated for salaries and support equipment for the 63 police officers (U.S. Department of Justice, OJARS, 1981:1).

Philadelphia Police Department
8th and Race Streets
Philadelphia, PA 19106
(215) 231-3131

- Project: **Community Resources Against South Bureau Hoodlums (CRASH)**
  (Derived from Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981:57)

  Program objectives for the Los Angeles Police Department are to reduce gang-related violence; identify and apprehend violent gang members; work with victims, witnesses, parents, and neighbors to eliminate gang problems; and aid other criminal justice and governmental agencies to eliminate gang problems.

  To achieve these objectives, the CRASH team handles gang-related incidents that occur in their area of involvement, delegates responsibility for gathering and coordinating gang-related intelligence to officers in the CRASH unit, concentrates on lessening gang cohesiveness by breaking the organizational structure of violent gangs, and brings the collective resources of the community, schools, and other justice agencies to bear on specific gang-related problems.

  Los Angeles Police Department
  P.O. Box 30158
  Los Angeles, CA 90030
  (213) 485-2121

- Project: **Gang Violence Reduction Project**
  (Derived from Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981:63)

  California Youth Authority objectives included redirecting the energies of youth gang members into more positive activities, ending gang feuds, and reducing gang violence in the Los Angeles area.

  The principal means by which the project sought to achieve the first objective was recruiting gang consultants who have lived in the gang neighborhood and who were willing to promote the project's goals. Mediation to resolve long-standing feuds was the principal strategy used to end gang feuding. Organization of activities and social events (fishing trips, picnics, camping trips, handball tournaments, trips to amusement parks) was among the strategies used to achieve the third objective. (This project was formally evaluated.)

  California Youth Authority
  4629 East Brooklyn Avenue
  Los Angeles, CA 90022
  (203) 269-7401

- Project: **Juvenile Gang Reduction Specialist**

  This grant provides funds for a police department juvenile gang reduction specialist in Douglas, Arizona who will identify and monitor gang activity, decrease the related crime rate, coordinate police activity with that of the juvenile court system, and redirect gang activity toward more positive

pursuits. The specialist will be on patrol, will gather information, and will be assigned to cases of gang origin (U.S. Department of Justice, OJARS, 1981:3).

Douglas Department of Public Safety
P.O. Drawer 4076
Douglas, AZ 85603
(501) 746-1421

- Project: **Law Enforcement Communications Team**
  (Derived from Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981:64)

The primary goal of the California Youth Authority's Law Enforcement Communications Team project is to gather and disseminate information regarding California street and prison youth gangs. These program objectives were implemented through coordination and liaison activities with members of the criminal justice system, an evaluation of current gang information, and the monitoring of youth gang activities.

California Youth Authority
4241 Williamsborough Drive
Suite 219
Sacramento, CA 95823
(916) 322-8959

- Project: **Los Padrinos Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency Leadership**

This grant provides for a delinquency prevention program in San Bernardino, California. Advocacy services, medical referral, drug education, and crisis intervention will be provided. Activities are designed to provide job preparation, decrease gang activities, deter institutionalization, and provide development in leadership, education, recreation, culture, and community resources. through a variety of techniques: parent effectiveness training, behavioral modification, micro-counseling, and student training effectiveness programs (U.S. Department of Justice, OJARS, 1981:1).

City of San Bernardino
990 Inland Center
San Bernardino, CA 92408
(714) 383-5211

- Project: **Operation Safe Streets--Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department**

This grant provides funds for a task force of four teams consisting of sheriff's deputies, a deputy district attorney, and a probation officer. Its goals include identification of hardcore gang members, increasing the apprehension and conviction rates of gang members, developing more effective anti-gang investigative techniques, and a reduction in gang-related crimes. The sheriff's deputies will gather information in the street about gang activities. The District Attorney will become thoroughly familiar with the gangs and their activities to aid in prosecution. The probation officer will closely supervise gang members and will exchange with sheriff's deputies any information received in the gangs' plans. The internal assessment will monitor changes in the level of gang activity in the project areas (U.S. Department of Justice, OJARS, 1981:1,2).

Los Angeles County
P.O. Box 4316
Los Angeles, CA 90051
(213) 974-5016

- Project: **Peppertree Plaza Delinquency Prevention Project**

This grant provides continuation funds for a police department project to impact burglaries, thefts, and malicious mischief in the Peppertree Plaza/Evans Park area, a high-crime district of Santa Maria, California. An officer will counsel youth, provide a favorable police role model, and develop a street contact program in response to youth gang activity. A grounds beautification program will involve area youth, and a BB gun range and bicycle moto-cross competitions will be developed. The officer will work with local merchants to solve vandalism and harrassment problems, as well as working with community groups to establish community pride programs (U.S. Department of Justice, OJARS, 1981:34).

City of Santa Maria
110 East Cook Street
Santa Maria, CA 93454
(805) 925-0951

- Project: **Probation and Police Suppression of Youth Gang Activity**
(Derived from Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981:61)

This program seeks to develop a relationship of mutual trust and loyalty between the police and probation department of Orange County, California to provide consistent enforcement of probation supervision. The methods employed include: (1) increasing probation officers' awareness of community problems so that the individual needs of the community and the probationer may be dealt with effectively; and (2) increasing police officers' awareness of the terms and conditions of probationers, so they may maintain control of gang activity by enforcing those terms and conditions.

Once this relationship has been established, the primary objective of disrupting and interfering with gang cohesiveness by separating gang members from one another (thus not allowing them to join forces) may be achieved more readily.

Orange County Probation Department
Orange County Police Department
301 The City Drive (P.O. Box 10260)
Santa Ana, CA 92711
(714) 634-7511

Six projects that may have value for improving the effectiveness of gang control programs are described in the report of the Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force, 1981:70-74:

- Project: **Biola Youth Services Project**

The primary objectives of the Biola Youth Services Project in Norwalk, California are to identify and divert pre-teen youngsters who show signs of

probable youth gang involvement and to sensitize school staff to characteristics of pre-gang involved youth through the education of school administrators in successful techniques for curbing school violence and vandalism.

To achieve the first objective the project attempted to provide parents of identified youth with skills usable in the home to divert youth from gang involvement. To achieve the second objective a strategies handbook was published for school administrators. Additional methods for achieving these two goals included the implementation of an intervention service, awareness presentations to community groups, the development of an intercommunity parent hot-line, and a tutorial program for identified youth.

City of Norwalk
12700 Norwalk Boulevard
Norwalk, CA 90650
(213) 863-0336 or (213) 434-2281

- Project: **Crisis Intervention Network (CIN)**

A countywide reduction of youth gang violence in Los Angeles, California is CIN's targeted objective. The CIN will attempt to fulfill its objectives by utilizing 24-hour per day street teams, reducing probation officer caseload to 50 per officer, crisis intervention, family counseling, monitoring school and community peer dynamics, and forming a Community Crisis Center to gather and disseminate intelligence on youth gangs.

Los Angeles County Probation Department
320 West Temple
Los Angeles, CA 90051
(213) 974-9331

- Project: **Gangs Network Project**

The Gangs Network Project in National City, California attempts to develop college options for youth involved in gang activity, other criminal activity, or who failed in the public school system. Educating the public and members of governmental and nongovernmental agencies about the youth gangs phenomenon is a corollary objective. To develop college options, the Gangs Network Project seeks to provide financial assistance, counseling and support services, and educational programs for youth gang members.

The methods by which the project attempts to educate the public and governmental and nongovernmental agencies are training, Barrio Councils to discuss current topics, support programs to impact youth gang issues, monthly public forums to discuss youth gang topics, and social service agency coordination efforts.

Gangs Network Project
P.O. Box 541
National City, CA 92050
(714) 474-8871

- Project: **Los Hermanos Y Las Hermanas Unidos**

This community-based program in Long Beach, California offers spiritual development as an alternative to gang membership. Individual and family visitation, counseling, tutoring, drug and alcohol information and referral, job referrals, community information, and creating liaisons with various school counselors are services offered by the program.

St. Matthew's Catholic Church
672 Temple Avenue
Long Beach, CA 90814
(213) 433-2603

- Project: **Sey Yes, Incorporated**

The objective of this project in Los Angeles, California is to reduce gang-related incidents on school grounds. Crisis intervention, field monitoring, and workshops for teachers are the three methods utilized for fulfilling the program objective. Teams of individuals monitor selective athletic events on school grounds to stop violence in its formative stage. These teams serve as a supplemental force to school personnel, security, and law enforcement. Sey Yes staff also monitor specific junior high and elementary schools and their surrounding areas. Workshops designed to inform school personnel of the gangs operating in their areas, as well as gang characteristics, are also part of the Sey Yes project. Rap sessions for students, athletic programs, neighborhood watch programs, and summer employment programs are also methods by which the Sey Yes project seeks to reduce gang-related incidents among school-aged youth.

Sey Yes, Incorporated
3840 Crenshaw Boulevard
Suite 217
Los Angeles, CA 90008
(213) 295-5551

- Project: **Youth Enterprises of Long Beach**

Through developing economic partnerships between 12 youth gangs in Long Beach and settling disputes between these rival gangs, the Recreation Department of Long Beach, California seeks to achieve a 60 percent reduction in the arrests of gang members for violent offenses. Disputes between rival gangs are settled by arbitration before an advisory board composed of one member from each gang and three youth workers. In addition, the program seeks to provide employment and job training for 300 eligible youth.

Youth Enterprises of Long Beach
City of Long Beach Recreation Department
325 Golden Shore
Long Beach, CA 90802
(213) 432-5931

A project voluntarily developed to address the youth gang problem follows:

- Project: **The House of Umoja**

  House of Umoja, a neighborhood organization in a ghetto district of West Philadelphia, provides food, shelter, $10 a week spending allowance, and an alternative to juvenile institutionalization for gang members. The most spectacular achievement of the House of Umoja was negotiating a pact to end gang warfare in Philadelphia, following a conference of 100 members from 32 groups in January, 1974. Consequently, gang-related deaths dropped from 43 in 1973, to 32 in 1974, six in 1975, and only one in 1977 (Bolling, 1982:18-20,88).

  House of Umoja
  1434 North Frazer St.
  Philadelphia, PA 19106
  (215) 477-4500

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